

The copyright of this thesis rests with the University of Cape Town. No quotation from it or information derived from it is to be published without full acknowledgement of the source. The thesis is to be used for private study or non-commercial research purposes only.

**THE 2010 FIFA WORLD CUP: PERCEPTIONS OF ITS SPORT  
AND DEVELOPMENT LEGACY POTENTIAL**



**LUCY CAROLINE MILLS**

**MLLLUC004**

**A minor dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the  
award of the degree of Master of Philosophy in Sociology (Development Studies)**

**Faculty of the Humanities**

**University of Cape Town**

**2010**

## **DECLARATION**

This work has not previously been submitted in whole, or part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signature:..... Date:.....

University Of Cape Town

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I would like to thank people who assisted me throughout my research process and who contributed to enriching my experiences in Cape Town. Firstly thanks goes to my supervisor Dr. Jacques De Wet. He has supported my endeavour to have one foot in the academic world and one foot out in the field volunteering with a sport for development organisation. I value his vast experience, insights and rigorous social science practice which I have hoped to replicate. I would also like to thank the Development Studies convenor David Lincoln who continues to show interest in my work and promote my research projects in gender, sport and development.

Huge gratitude goes to individuals from various sports organisations who went out of their way to explain to me what was happening in their communities and readily offered their views and advice, in particular Kaluba Kangwa from Bauleni United Sports Academy in Lusaka; Sadick Da Silva from Cape Flats Soccer Development in Cape Town; and James Donald from Grassroot Soccer in Cape Town.

Special thanks goes to my two teammates Mari Haugaa Engh and Cassandra Clark who share a passion for football, female empowerment through sport, and applied research. They have been inspiring colleagues and friends, offering advice and support. We have attended conferences together, made many connections and sought out key personnel to push new ideas on various agendas. We are continuing our ambitions in the form of a Research Collective, which we established towards the end of 2009.

Far from Cape Town, but still intrinsic to my successes on and off the football field, are my parents John and Caroline Mills, based in Yorkshire, England, who continue to support every decision I make. Two role models growing up, my Great Aunt Lilian Groves and my Gramps Dr. Leonard Groves inspired me to engage in critical thinking and showed genuine interest in all academic endeavours from a tiny age.

## **ABSTRACT**

Sport mega-events are a contemporary phenomenon which embody and unify global processes in an increasingly globalised world. Whilst the sport industry has grown exponentially as a result of global market forces envisaging extensive economic opportunities, hosting a mega-event has also been economically attractive for cities and countries. In aiming to be globally competitive and world-class, mega-events derive from an economic-growth centred model of urban development, whereby benefits will “trickle-down” to the poor and marginalised (Pillay and Bass, 2008). The 2010 FIFA World Cup typifies such an event as it encompasses historical, geo-political, economic and socio-cultural processes that have intensified and been intensified by, globalisation.

South Africa’s bid for the 2010 FIFA World Cup however, has differed from other mega-event bids. Official World Cup discourses boast that the World Cup will produce lasting socio-economic impacts to South Africa and indeed the rest of Africa. FIFA and the South African government have labelled the 2010 World Cup an “African World Cup” with promises of stimulating pan-African economic and socio-cultural opportunities. There is significant emphasis on providing social benefits to underprivileged populations. One of the anticipated social legacies is the development of sport structures and increased participation of sport in disadvantaged areas where barriers to sport are most entrenched.

The aim of the research project was to determine whether a sport and development legacy is in fact materialising in both South Africa and Zambia as a result of South Africa hosting the World Cup. I employed a qualitative research design and conducted 20 semi-structured in-depth interviews with representatives from a wide variety of sport and development related organisations in Cape Town and Lusaka. I regarded this cross-section of people as best positioned to provide evidence of a legacy.

Findings demonstrate that the official World Cup discourses generated by FIFA and the South African government pledging benefits continent-wide, have infiltrated everyday discourse of people in townships in Lusaka and Cape Town. There is however a discrepancy between this rhetoric and the reality. Respondents from small-scale, community-based sports structures rarely perceive themselves or their organisations to benefit from World Cup opportunities due to a lack of access to information and resources. Despite limited tangible gains or involvement, a sense of pride in South Africa, and indeed Africa, is evident. This alone is contributing to the support of the World Cup rather than visible positive changes in disadvantaged communities. In contrast to these organisations, representatives from larger, wealthier sport for development NGOs record increased funding and activities. This research has therefore exposed a dual system of sports delivery present in South Africa and Zambia. Whilst sport for development NGOs thrive, community sports structures struggle to the point of being near dysfunctional or even non-existent. Given the problematic history of donor-driven, Northern-based development programmes, we must be wary of perpetuating the marginalisation of local voices.

This thesis suggests that pitfalls of globalisation at large are reproduced in globalised sport. It substantiates existing literature that doubts the potential of the World Cup to generate development among poorer populations.

## **TABLE OF CONTENTS**

<b>Chapter 1: Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
Overview	1
Methodology	4
Structure of the Study	4
Researcher Profile	5
Value of the Study	7
 <b>Chapter 2: Background and Context</b>	 <b>8</b>
Mega-Events: Hallmarks of Globalisation	8
FIFA and Africa	9
2010: What it means to South Africa	14
Sport for Development	16
The Global and The Local	18
 <b>Chapter 3: Conceptualisation of the Research Questions</b>	 <b>22</b>
Testing the Rhetoric of a Mega-Event	23
FIFA's Official Legacy Campaign	24
The 2010 World Cup: An African Legacy?	25
Who Benefits?	29
Sport for Development	31
Grobal and Glocal?	33
 <b>Chapter 4: Research Methodology</b>	 <b>34</b>
Research Aims	34
Central Research Question	35
Research Sub- Questions	35
Data Collection	35
Research Design	36
Scope of Research	36
Cape Town, South Africa	37
Lusaka, Zambia	38
Sampling	39
Sampling in Cape Town	39
Sampling in Lusaka	43
Research Instrument	47
Interview Schedule	49
Data Analysis	49
Ethical Appraisal	50
 <b>Chapter 5: Findings</b>	 <b>53</b>
African World Cup	53
Africa's Achievement	53
Continent Benefiting	54
Image of Africa	56
Existing community facilities	57
Barriers to Participation	59
Relationship Between Promoters of Grassroots Football and Governing Bodies	61
SAFA/ FAZ	61

Government	62
World Cup Legacy initiatives	62
FIFA Football For Hope Movement: “20 Centres for 2010”	62
Government and 2010	67
Youth Development Through Football (YDF)	68
Sport for Development NGOs and 2010	69
CBOs and 2010	71
Mega-Events	72
Stadium infrastructural development and “white elephants”	74
Personal Connection to World Cup	74
Opportunities	74
Involvement in Tournament	75
Personal or Organisational Benefits	76
Communication	77
Summary of Findings	77
<b>Chapter 6: Discussion</b>	<b>78</b>
An African Renaissance: Rhetoric or Reality?	78
‘Dysfunctional’ Duality?	83
African Legacy Programme: Perceptions of Progress	87
Legacy or Fallacy?	91
Conclusions	94
<b>Chapter 7: Conclusions</b>	<b>94</b>
Comments on Limitations and Suggestions for Further Research	95
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>97</b>
<b>Appendix 1. Interview Schedule</b>	<b>101</b>



## **REFERENCES**

African Legacy Programme, slideshow pdf, accessed June 2009)

Akandes, G and M. Kirwin (2009): 'Sport as International Aid: Assisting Development or Promoting Underdevelopment in Sub-Saharan Africa?', chapter 10, pp. 219-245 in R. Levermore and A. Beacon (ed): *Sport and International Development*, Palgrave, Macmillan

Alegi, P (2000): 'Feel the Pull in Your Soul': Local Agency and Global Trends in South Africa's 2006 World Cup Bid', *Soccer and Society*, volume 2, number 3, pp. 1-21

Alegi, P (2007): 'The Political Economy of Mega-Stadiums and the Underdevelopment of Grassroots Football in South Africa', *Politikon*, volume 34, number 3, 315-331

Andrews, D and G. Ritzer (2007): 'The Global in the Sporting Global', chapter 3, pp. 28-45 in Giulianotti, R and R. Robertson (eds) (2007): *Globalization and Sport*, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford

Babbie, E and J. Mouton (2001): 'Qualitative Data Analysis', chapter 18, pp. 489-516 in *The Practice of Social Science Research, South African Edition*, Oxford University Press, Cape Town

Basit, T. N (2003): 'Manual or Electronic? The Role of Coding in Qualitative Data Analysis', *Educational Research*, volume 45, number 2, pp. 143-154

Black, D (2007): 'The Symbolic Politics of Sport Mega-Events: 2010 in Comparative Perspective', *Politikon*, volume 34, number 3, pp. 261-276

Black, D and J. Van Der Westhuizen (2004): 'The Allure of Global Games for 'Semi-Peripheral' Polities and Spaces: A Research Agenda', *Third World Quarterly*, volume 25, number 7, pp. 1195-1214

Bongmba, E (2004): 'Reflections on Thabo Mbeki's African Renaissance', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, volume 30, number 2, pp. 291-316

Briggs, J and J. Sharp (2004): 'Indigenous Knowledges and Development: A Postcolonial Caution', *Third World Quarterly*, volume 25, number 4, pp. 661-676

Cornelissen, S (2004): 'It's Africa's Turn!: The narratives and Legitimizations Surrounding the Moroccan and South African Bids for the 2006 and 2010 FIFA Finals', *Third World Quarterly*, volume 25, number. 7, pp. 1293-1309

Cornelissen, S (2007): 'Crafting Legacies: The Changing Political Economy of Global Sport and the 2010 FIFA World Cup', *Politikon*, volume 34, number 3, pp. 241-259

Cornelissen, S (2008): 'Translating Impacts into Development: What Pointers for Scholarship?', University of Stellenbosch, slideshow, pdf accessed June 2009

Darby, P (2000): 'Africa's Place in FIFA's Global Order: A Theoretical Frame', *Soccer and Society*, volume 1, number 2, pp. 36-61

Darby, P (2005): 'Africa and the 'World' Cup: FIFA Politics, Eurocentrism and Resistance', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, volume 22, number 5, pp. 883- 905

Dey, I (1993): 'Managing Data, Creating Categories, and Assigning Categories', chapter 6, 8 and 9, pp. 75-82, 94-112 and 113-128 in *Qualitative Data Analysis: A User-Friendly Guide for Social Scientists*, Routledge, London

FIFA website, <http://www.fifa.com/aboutfifa/federation/mission.html>, accessed March 2009

Fokwang, J (2009): 'Southern Perspectives on Sport-in-Development: A Case Study of Football in Bamanda, Cameroon', chapter 9, pp. 198-218 in R. Levermore and A. Beacon (ed): *Sport and International Development*, Palgrave, Macmillan

Fielding, N and R. Lee (1998): 'Approaches to Qualitative Analysis', chapter 2, pp. 21-55 in *Computer Analysis and Qualitative Research*, pp. 21-55, Sage, London

Giulianotti, R and R. Robertson (2007): 'Recovering the Social: Globalisation, Football and Transnationalism', chapter 5, pp. 58-78 in Giulianotti, R and R. Robertson (eds) (2007): *Globalization and Sport*, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford

Hall, M. C. (2006): 'Urban Entrepreneurship, Corporate Interests and Sports Mega-Events: The Thin Policies of Competitiveness Within the Hard Outcomes of Neoliberalism', pp. 59-70, *The Editorial Board of the Sociological Review*, Blackwell Publishing Ltd, Oxford

Hargreaves, J (2000): *Heroines of Sport: The Politics of Difference and Identity*, Routledge, London

Horne, J and W. Manzenreiter (2006): 'An Introduction to the Sociology of Sports Mega-Events', *The Editorial Board of the Sociological Review*, Blackwell Publishing Ltd, Oxford

Hulme, D and M. Edwards (1997): *NGOs, States and Donors: Too Close for Comfort*, Basingstoke, Macmillan, Save The Children

Kvale, S (1997): *Interviews: An Introduction to qualitative research interviewing*, Sage, Thousand Oaks

Levermore, R (2009): 'Sport in International Development: Theoretical Frameworks', chapter 2, pp. 26-54 in R. Levermore and A. Beacon (ed): *Sport and International Development*, Palgrave, Macmillan

Levermore, R and A. Beacon (2009) (ed): *Sport and International Development*, Palgrave, Macmillan

Matheson, V. A and R. A. Baade (2004): 'Mega-Sporting Events in Developing Nations: Playing the Way to Prosperity?', *College of the Holy Cross, Department of Economics Faculty Research Series*, Working Paper number 04-04

Mawdsley, E, J. Townsend, G. Porter and P. Oakley (2002): *Knowledge, Power and Development Agendas: NGOs North and South*, INTRAC, Oxford

Miles, M and A. Huberman (1994): 'Early Steps in Analysis' in *Qualitative Data Analysis: An Expanded Handbook*, pp. 50-89, Sage, Thousand Oaks

Mohan, G and K. Stokke (2000): 'Participatory Development and Empowerment: The Dangers of Localism', *Third World Quarterly*, volume 21, number 2, pp. 247-268

Nauright, J (2004): 'Global Games: Culture, Political Economy and Sport in the Globalised World of the 21st Century', *Third World Quarterly*, volume 25, number 7, pp. 1325-1336

NCDO Publication Series Sport and Development (2008): 'An African World Cup At Last!: But What Will Be The Effects? Maximising Positive Impact of the 2010 FIFA World Cup: Results of the International Symposium on the Impact of Mega Sports Events on Developmental Goals, 5th - 7th March 2008', Stellenbosch, South Africa

Newton, C (2009): 'The Reverse Side of the Medal: About the 2010 FIFA World Cup and the Beautification of the N2 in Cape Town', *Urban Forum*, volume 20, pp. 93-108

Nyamugasira, W (1998): 'NGOs and Advocacy: How Well are the Poor Represented?', *Development In Practice*, volume 8, number 3, pp. 297-308

Open University (1993): 'Unit 17/18 Analysis of Unstructured Data' in *Principles of Social and Educational Research*, pp. 3-35, Open University, Milton Keynes

Perks, T (2007): 'Does Sport Foster Social Capital? The Contribution of Sport to a Lifestyle of Community Participation', *Sociology of Sport Journal*, number 24, pp. 378-401

Pillay, U and O. Bass (2008): 'Mega-events as a Response to Poverty Reduction: The 2010 FIFA World Cup and its Urban Development Implications', *Urban Forum*, volume 19, pp. 329-346

Right To Play (2009): 'Child Development Through Sport and Play in Communities and Schools in Zambia', Right to Play, February 2009

Roche, M (2006): 'Mega-Events and Modernity Revisited: Globalization and the Case of the Olympics', pp. 26- 40, *The Editorial Board of the Sociological Review*, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford

Smart, B (2007): 'Not Playing Around: Global Capitalism, Modern Sport and Consumer Culture', chapter 2, pp. 6-27 in Giulianotti, R and R. Robertson (eds) (2007): *Globalization and Sport*, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford

Tembo, F (2003): 'The Multi-Image Development NGO: An Agent of the New Imperialism?', *Development In Practice*, volume 13, number 5, pp. 527-533

Tomlinson, J (1991): *Cultural Imperialism*, Continuum, London

United Nations Inter-Agency Task Force on Sport for Development and Peace (2003): 'Sport for Development and Peace: Towards Achieving the Millennium Development Goals' Report

Vanauweele et al. (eds) (2006): 'Sport and Development', Uitgeverij Lanoo Press, Leuven

## **CHAPTER ONE: RESEARCH INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1 Overview**

Sport mega-events are a contemporary phenomenon which embody and unify global processes in an increasingly globalised world. The 2010 FIFA World Cup typifies such an event as it encompasses historical, geo-political, economic and socio-cultural processes that have both intensified and been intensified by, globalisation. In aiming to be globally competitive and world-class, mega-events derive from an economic-growth centred model of urban development, whereby benefits will “trickle-down” to the poor and marginalised (Pillay and Bass, 2008). Whilst the sport industry has grown exponentially as a result of global market forces such as corporates and sponsors envisaging extensive economic opportunities, hosting a mega-event has also been economically attractive for cities and countries. Official World Cup discourses boast that the World Cup will produce lasting socio-economic impacts to South Africa and indeed the rest of Africa. At the heart of the hosting bid was the premise that underprivileged populations would benefit in a variety of ways, from enhanced infrastructure, increased foreign-investment, wider socio-economic opportunities. As well as the common conviction that hosting mega-events generates economic wealth, what sets this bid aside from others is the emphasis on social benefits, such as the development of sports structures. This thesis is concerned with whether the 2010 FIFA World Cup is promoting a lasting legacy for football and development at the grassroots in South Africa and Zambia. Deconstructing the rhetoric surrounding the World Cup, this study reveals perceptions of people involved in community sport and development structures in Cape Town and Lusaka, and explores whether there is hard evidence of legacy initiatives to corroborate the rhetoric.

FIFA and the South African government have labelled the 2010 World Cup an “African World Cup” with emphasis being placed on how to stimulate Pan-African benefits and maximise a breadth of economic and socio-cultural opportunities. The term “legacy” has been coined to signify the positive changes that are intended to take place continent- wide. This echoes the African Renaissance movement that it calls for

a renewal of the whole continent rather than one country. Rather than just South Africa benefiting, the South African government and the World Cup Organising Committee pledge that other African countries will benefit too and South Africa will be showcasing the whole of Africa. For this reason, another African country besides South Africa, namely Zambia, was chosen as a research site.

For South African citizens, the South African government has pledged that the construction of facilities for the World Cup will stimulate further initiatives, enhance sport programmes in disadvantaged communities, create jobs, provide housing, support the creation of small businesses and enhance the transport system, thus centring poverty reduction around black economic empowerment initiatives, job creation, transportation integration and township regeneration (Pillay and Bass, 2008). Still, it must be noted that benefits to impoverished communities are based on the assumption that they will “trickle down” (Pillay and Bass, 2008) and that ‘South Africa’s hosting of the 2010 World Cup is embedded within a global political economy of sport, marked by a particular economic rationale’ (Cornelissen, pg.242, 2007). Who really benefits, and do people interact with, mediate, and negotiate, global processes, particularly underprivileged populations?



*Confederations Cup, June 2009*

This study is significant as it critiques the assumption that mega-events, due to their promotion and incorporation of sport, are inherently beneficial for society. Sport has long been acknowledged as a positive and dynamic force in humanity. The international community has popularised sport as a tool for development, with sport now featuring prominently in development programmes worldwide. Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) are using football as a tool, and the World Cup, to strive for social development. With the flow of resources for sport for development predominantly coming from Northern donor states to Southern recipient states, we are presented with the classical development assistance process which is informed by an ethos that places Third World countries at the receiving end of development (Fokwang, 2009). North-South relations characteristic of the development industry can now be observed in the global sport industry. This thesis explores how football and development structures at the grassroots are being affected by the World Cup and global Northern bodies such as FIFA, and whether the World Cup is an appropriate vehicle for delivering socio-economic benefits.

This research looks at what is really happening in grassroots football structures in Cape Town and Lusaka- whether the promises of a sports legacy and the discourse that FIFA, the South African government and the LOC have employed, is really being translated into football and social development among populations that are most lacking in adequate access to sports structures and participation. Have we moved beyond rhetoric to the implementation thereof to bring about change?

## **1.2. Methodology**

I employed a qualitative research design and conducted 20 semi-structured interviews in Cape Town, South Africa and Lusaka, Zambia, with personnel (programme managers, programme coordinators, coaches, administrators and a sport journalist) from sports organisations, NGOs and CBOs, governmental departments, media, football federations and FIFA. In attempts to find the beginnings of a grassroots sports legacy, all my respondents are from sport and development related organisations. I carried out my research in the field with a cross-section of people who are best positioned to provide evidence of a legacy. Throughout my research process of about 8 months I volunteered with the sport for development organisation Grassroot Soccer both in Cape Town and Lusaka<sup>1</sup>. Fieldwork also included attending meetings, forums, training sessions, workshops, events and football tournaments.

## **1.3 Structure of the Study**

Chapter Two conceptualises the FIFA World Cup tournament within the wider global, historical, political and economic context and outlines the issues relevant to exploring the question of whether football and development at the grassroots in South Africa and indeed Africa will be enhanced as a result of the World Cup in 2010. Chapter Three conceptualises the issues and themes within the research questions. Chapter Four outlines the research design, methodology and analysis approaches I employed to carry out this research endeavour. The findings are presented in Chapter Five and I

---

<sup>1</sup> Grassroot Soccer is an international sport for development NGO which trains up community coaches and leaders to deliver a games-based curriculum that raises awareness and educates youths about HIV/AIDS. Grassroot Soccer operates in Southern Africa with its flagship sites in South Africa and Zambia.



then link my data findings to broader theoretical frameworks outlined in Chapter Two in the following Discussion Chapter. In Chapter Seven I conclude the research study.

#### **1.4 Researcher Profile**

Having played and coached football at a very high standard for teams in England, Ghana and South Africa, I have extensive experience of the sport in both developed and developing country contexts. ~~I am combining my academic background of Development Studies with my belief in the vast benefits of sport to promote sports participation among disadvantaged populations whereby barriers to sporting opportunities are most entrenched. I have observed that in a context of poverty, the impacts of sport are powerfully felt.~~ I volunteered for the plus-sport organisation Grassroot Soccer in both Cape Town and Lusaka throughout my research journey, and on near completion of my Masters went on to start working fulltime with the sport for development organisation Sports Coaches' Outreach as a Programme Facilitator, specialising in football and life-skills. Whilst extending my experiences and practice in the sport for development field, I consider myself to be in a privileged position, practically and academically, to contribute to restructuring injustices and facilitate positive social change. Therefore two colleagues and teammates Cassie Clark and Mari Haugaa Engh and I established a Research Collective, specialising in Gender, Sport and Development. We collaborated our different and complementary backgrounds (Anthropology; Gender Studies; and Development Studies) to focus on increasing female participation in football in South Africa. Recent endeavours include exploring the challenges female coaches, referees and administrators in Cape Town face when promoting football. Mari and I also presented our research papers at the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) 2009 Gender Symposium in Cairo in November 2009 which was themed "Gender and Sports in Africa's Development". My paper calls for corporate and media involvement in women's football to boost developments of the game, using SASOL's recent sponsorship of South African national women's team Banyana Banyana as a case study and model.

Lucy Caroline Mills  
Masters Thesis 2010  
Supervisor Dr. Jacques De Wet

The networks I have as a researcher are a result of my involvement in sport and development, without which would have been difficult to carry out the research. Strengths of being intimately involved are that I have an insight that others may not have and I have a vested interest in finding a sports legacy. I also acknowledge the potential weakness with my closeness to the research topic. As it is ingrained and apart of what I do everyday, at times it has been difficult to take a step back. I was wary of being fixed on a specific point of view.



*University of Cape Town Women's Football Team 2008 Season*

### **1.5 Value of the Study**

The ~~sport for development field is just starting to receive attention from scholars and researchers, yet the~~ World Cup phenomenon and its impact on community level football remains scarcely researched. It is particularly important, given South Africa's pressing socio-economic needs and conditions of poverty, to assess whether the hosting of a mega-event is likely to undermine development or enhance it. This study contributes to the scholarly debates regarding the World Cup and I am determined that the recommendations I make in Chapter Six reach people in positions of power with the capacity to change the status quo. I have written my thesis in the interests of marginalised people, hence, I acknowledge my ideological position as a researcher using applied research to challenge power structures. My underlying motivation for carrying out this research is to utilise my findings outside the academic sphere, ensuring that I make a real contribution in society, specifically in the sport for development field. The issues I have dealt with in my research- everyday discourses of "normal" people and community sporting activities, at times seemed far removed from the academic world ~~to the extent that I was frustrated with using academic theories and style to achieve my ambitions, which are ultimately to increase sports participation among underprivileged populations. However t~~Throughout the research journey I did, however, increasingly come to recognise the value of situating my research content and participants within broader theoretical frameworks, as it is important that people's voices are included and contribute to these debates. Latterly I recognised that I had been endorsing an artificial divide between theory and practice, which need not necessarily be there, and came to appreciate the value of theory to explain my observations and provide reference through which to understand life around me<sup>2</sup>.

---

<sup>2</sup> Through various informal conversations, Dr. Jacques De Wet was instrumental in resolving this dilemma.

## **CHAPTER TWO: BACKGROUND**

This chapter provides the theoretical and historical background of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Firstly I consider the FIFA World Cup competition as a mega-event operating in the global political economy and explore the facets that contribute to this. I then examine the driving body FIFA to assist with contextualising its major mega-event and its latest approaches to addressing social development. The chapter goes on to present existing literature that problematises South Africa's motivations for hosting mega-events. The government cites the inherent benefits of sport as a significant driver of hosting the World Cup; therefore I examine the relatively new field of sport for development. The chapter concludes with a description of the theoretical framework through which I analyse research respondents' perceptions of the World Cup, a relationship which constitutes a global-local process.

### **2.1 Mega-Events: Hallmarks of Globalisation**

Mega-events are considered to be central to late modern capitalist societies, particularly urban societies (Horne and Manzenreiter, 2006). There are a number of reasons explaining the expansion of mega-events in contemporary society which are synonymous with the attributes of globalisation at large. Firstly, there has been a shift in international capitalism over the past thirty years, with profit generating activities such as manufacturing becoming somewhat redundant in favour of new growth sectors such as tourism, events and sport (Cornelissen, 2004). With this in mind, it is not surprising that the commercialisation of sport events and deliberate restructuring of major sport sectors towards the goal of profit making took place, with the international sport industry now being among the largest and fastest-growing components of the world economy (Cornelissen, 2007). Global sport is driven and defined by three interrelated processes of corporatization, spectacularization and commodification, with commercially-driven corporations becoming the primary organising, institutional vehicle (Andrews and Ritz, pg. 33, 2007). The growth of sport internationally as a lucrative sector has been assisted greatly by developments in

technologies and mass communication which have enabled unprecedented global audiences for mega-events, hence the World Cup consistently attracts a vast range of media and commercial partners (Horne and Manzenrieter, 2006). Consolidating what Horne and Manzenrieter label the 'sport-media-business alliance', is the idea of 'packaging, via the tri-partite model of sponsorship rights, exclusive broadcasting rights and merchandising' (Horne and Manzenrieter, pg. 5, 2006). Furthermore, since a global live audience is now possible, the market reach of mega-events has thus become greater than ever before (Michael-Hall, 2006). The 2006 World Cup in Germany for example, issued nearly 3 million tickets for 64 matches and the worldwide television audience estimated at half a billion per match (Michael-Hall, 2006).

Whilst the sport industry has grown exponentially as a result of global market forces such as corporates and sponsors envisaging extensive economic opportunities, hosting a mega-event has also been economically attractive for cities and countries. Governments have viewed hosting mega-events as a means to accessing global capital, to enliven their national economies or to gain international visibility (Cornelissen, 2007). The 'urban reimagining strategies and place competitiveness' (Michael-Hall, pg. 63, 2006) which are necessitated by hosting a mega-event are deemed to attract a wealth of tourists and investors into the country. The unprecedented influx of tourists and subsequent longer-term tourism buoyancy, as well as widened destination publicity, are deemed to contribute to substantial percentages of a country's GNP. Mega-events therefore emerge as central elements in place competition in at least three ways: infrastructure required for such events is usually regarded as integral to further economic development; hosting of events is seen as a contribution to business vitality and economic development; and the ability to attract events is often regarded as a performance indicator in its own right of the capacity of a city or region to compete (Michael-Hall, 2006).

## **2.2 FIFA and Africa**

It is clear that the World Cup is a manifestation of, and perpetuates, globalisation. The organising body FIFA which is driving this transnational movement typifies that of a multinational corporation. This section looks at the background and wider processes of FIFA in attempts to understand the current emphasis on promoting the World Cup as a developmental legacy. I then describe the Football For Hope movement, which is FIFA's official World Cup legacy initiative.

Established in 1904, FIFA is an association governed by Swiss law. Its present day objectives are to: improve the game of football and promote it globally in the light of its unifying, educational, cultural and humanitarian values; safeguard the laws of the game; take world-class football action and passion across the world through tournaments and the 208 member associations; and strengthen the work of dozens of initiatives across the world to support local communities in the areas of peacebuilding, health, social integration, education and so on ([FIFA website, accessed 2009](#)). FIFA's mission statement shows a shift in focus towards an awareness of its responsibilities to global political, social and cultural issues. The World Cup is FIFA's main income generating activity and in the context of heightened globalisation as described previously, profits from sponsorship and media contracts have grown exponentially. For example, revenue secured from the sale of World Cup television broadcasting rights increased from 95 million Swiss Francs in 1990 to 1.5 billion Swiss Francs in 2006 (Smart, 2007). Darby states that FIFA is 'truly transnational in scope' and its 'activities represent an integral part of the global infrastructure that characterises modern sport' (Darby, pg. 36, 2000). FIFA has thus expanded to become a key global institution, operating within, as well as influencing, the current globalised political economy. FIFA is positioned favourably among the world's largest transnational corporations and attracts substantial financial arrangements via its World Cup sponsorship programme. Corporations include Adidas- which expends \$350million to be part of the FIFA sponsorship programme, Coca-Cola- at a cost of \$500million, Emirates at \$195million, and Sony at \$305million (Viscusi, 2006 cited in Smart, 2007). It is clear that free market forces bolster the prominence and profitability of FIFA's World Cup, which in turn has fuelled major strides in football development globally. Whilst driving the interconnectedness of football worldwide,

FIFA has however, also been associated with inequality, conflict and disparity (Darby, 2000). It is argued that present day disparities and uneven benefits in football worldwide derive largely from FIFA's history. Inadequate football infrastructure and facilities across Africa can be attributed to FIFA's continued marginalisation of the continent throughout the twentieth-century. This is echoed in the fact that African representation at the World Cup has historically been restricted by a Eurocentric bias at the heart of FIFA (Darby, 2005). FIFA's activities cannot, however, be viewed in isolation from wider political processes. A parallel has been observed between the Eurocentric, patronizing and missionary style of colonial administration and the approach of FIFA towards the African game (Darby, 2005). For example, whilst up until the 1950s FIFA refused to incorporate Africa into its institutional and competition structures (Darby, 2005), Africa at large was marginalised and subjugated via Western imperialist practices.

Various scholarly discourses have been applied to understand the evolution of FIFA. Applying Wallerstein's World Systems Theory, FIFA can be viewed as a dominant core actor in the global economy that has exploited and impoverished the periphery by, for example, its Western-biased voting system at Congress and the composition of its executive committee prioritising Western interests (Darby, 2000). European members have continuously attempted to monopolise power and resources by denying African representatives proportional representation at the centre of world football's decision-making structures (Darby, 2000). Theories of imperialism and cultural hegemony have also been used to analyse FIFA's position in global football. It has been documented that football was promoted to impose Western cultural forms and sports in colonial Africa, particularly through the education system, in order to socialise the African populations into accepting colonial rule, thereby facilitating continued economic penetration (Darby, 2000). There is however a curious paradox whereby football has been used both as a site for colonial oppression and as a radical expression of resistance and 'African national self-definition' to the extent that the diffusion of football in Africa can be characterised as a 'two-way but imbalanced process of cultural exchange, interpenetration, and interpretation' (Darby, pg. 45, 2000). In other words, it must be acknowledged that although football was instigated

by colonial powers, the agency of indigenous populations to absorb and adapt a foreign culture cannot be ignored. This acceptance of the sport by oppressed populations seems to have done little to adjust power relationships though. Post-independence, the legacy of colonialism and dependency of African states on the West is mirrored in the way that African nations have remained on the fringes of world football and were dependant upon economic support from FIFA (Darby, 2000). By the 1990s, African nations such as Cameroon were proving competent rivals in international football which paved the way for more World Cup competition “berths” to be allocated to African teams. This has been enhanced with a broader struggle off the field for African representation among FIFA’s decision-making elites, however there is consensus that Africa’s marginalisation and dependency on FIFA and Western football structures has not completely been shaken. To summarise the situation in the current era, Darby argues that ‘the ability of African football to break free of its dependency relationship with FIFA’s core lies not only in footballing standards and political influence within the world, but significantly, is also dependant upon the region’s position in the global capitalist economy’ (Darby, pg. 56, 2000).

With this backdrop, South Africa’s hosting of the World Cup in 2010 shows the advances the African continent has made with regards to footballing nations gaining international recognition by FIFA. It is the first time the World Cup will be hosted in Africa and pivotal to this milestone are attempts by FIFA to maximise the development of the game on the continent. More recently, and increasingly, FIFA’s ‘aid’ to Africa is in the form of football development programmes and clinics and training for coaches, referees and officials (Akindes and Kirwin, pg. 227, 2009). Furthermore, FIFA has supported and implemented two social development programmes- “GOAL” and “Football For Hope”, the former being elite- orientated and the latter focusing on decentralised development activities. The GOAL programme subsidises infrastructural needs of those national football associations and federations that are unable to support themselves by providing Football Association Headquarters, natural and artificial turf pitches, training and education centres and other basic infrastructure (FIFA, 2004 cited in Akindes and Kirwin, 2009). With 80% of African football associations being subsidised by national governments, of which



Lucy Caroline Mills  
Masters Thesis 2010  
Supervisor Dr. Jacques De Wet

many are financially constrained, it is not surprising that there are 59 GOAL programmes operating in Africa (Akindes and Kirwin, 2006). Football For Hope was the product of a strategic alliance between FIFA and streetfootballworld<sup>3</sup>, which is a non-governmental network of other NGOs that use football as a tool for development. Rather than offering financial assistance to national associations, Football For Hope works with local and international organisations that are part of that network to implement sport for development programmes. The Football For Hope initiative was vitally included in this research as it is the vehicle through which FIFA is attempting to ensure that benefits from the World Cup are widespread. FIFA established a Corporate Social Responsibility department in 2005 which has since turned its attention to the official campaign for the 2010 World Cup- the Football For Hope “20 Centres for 2010”. According to FIFA the aim of the “20 Centres for 2010” campaign is:

‘to achieve positive social change through football by building twenty Football for Hope Centres for public health, education and football across Africa. The centres will address local social challenges in disadvantaged areas and improve education and health services for young people. 20 Centres for 2010 will promote social development through football long after the final whistle of the 2010 FIFA World Cup, leaving a tangible social legacy for Africa’.



*Football For Hope Centre under construction, August 2009*

---

<sup>3</sup> Spelling is all one word without capital letters.

### **2.3 2010: What it means to South Africa**

This section analyses South Africa's motivations for, and history of, hosting mega-events and draws attention to existing literature which problematises this.

Black and Van Der Westhuizen state that due to the fact that sports events have the 'extraordinary capacity to generate powerfully emotional shared experiences', there is the 'appeal and elusiveness of sport as a political force' (Black and Van Der Westhuizen, pg. 1195, 2004). In the current global political economy, countries therefore strive to host mega-events to assert political power, particularly semi-peripheral states, which despite their mid-range development, are characterised by their social marginalisation and struggles for visibility and advantage in the current era of capitalism (Black and Van Der Westhuizen, 2004). South Africa is identified as a semi-peripheral economy and has repeatedly strived to host sport mega-events in its post-apartheid period. With the end of the anti-apartheid sports boycott, the ANC pledged to reinvent South Africa's image and attract overseas tourists (Alegi, 2000). To date, South Africa has hosted the 1995 Rugby World Cup, the 1996 African Nations Cup, the 1999 All African Games and the 2003 Cricket World Cup (Alegi, 2000). Since 1996, the African National Congress (ANC) has followed the Washington Consensus path for development and used major sporting tournaments to stimulate foreign investment (Nauright, 2004). Black economic empowerment is emphasised as eliciting national pride and unity which reflects the ANC's shift from non-racial social democratic principles and the politics of rainbow nationalism in early post-apartheid, to racial capitalism and the adoption of free market liberalisation (Alegi, 2000). Furthermore, the investment of public funds for infrastructure such as stadiums reflects the neoliberal ideology behind the government's GEAR programme (Alegi, 2000). It has been argued that South Africa's mega-event addiction is so deeply entrenched, to the extent that the prolonged feel-good "high" masks continuing realities of the post-apartheid socio-cultural and class divides (Black, 2007). With the tension between pro-growth and pro-poor agendas being particularly critical, the World Cup has become a balancing act so that pro-growth is associated with the notion of public good (Pillay and Bass, 2008). South Africa has pledged that the construction of facilities for the World Cup will stimulate further initiatives, enhance

sport programmes in disadvantaged communities, create jobs, provide housing, support the creation of small businesses and enhance the transport system, thus centring poverty reduction around black economic empowerment initiatives, job creation, transportation integration and township regeneration (Pillay and Bass, 2008). Still, it must be noted that benefits to impoverished communities are based on the assumption that they will “trickle down” (Pillay and Bass, 2008) and that ‘South Africa’s hosting of the 2010 World Cup is embedded within a global political economy of sport, marked by a particular economic rationale’ (Cornelissen, pg. 242, 2007).

That sport has been interwoven with the broader fabric of South African society and served as a tool for social and political change during and after apartheid is well documented (Nauright, 2004). Given the nation’s fixation with sport as well as the fact that previous sporting tournaments have successfully been hosted, South Africa’s drive to secure the one major tournament yet to be hosted is unsurprising. What also bolstered the hosting bid no doubt is the fact that football is the most popular, widely-played and supported sport among the majority black population, and football is one of the few sports which is administered by largely black personnel (Nauright, 2004). South Africa’s motivations to host the World Cup are founded on the perceived socio-economic benefits accruing to underprivileged populations as a result of an unprecedented influx of exposure, funding and infrastructural improvements that such a tournament commands, as well as the assumption that sport is inherently beneficial in society. South Africa’s hosting of the World Cup has drawn attention to the conviction by international bodies and the South African government that sport should be playing a vital role in the country’s sought after drive for equitable development. The question is whether the government’s endeavour to host the largest international football tournament derives from the attraction of the increasingly corporatised and commercialised nature of football- and therefore foreign investment, or whether the ensuing World Cup competition is indeed a manifestation of the importance decision-makers attach to establishing football, and sports in general, within South African society and community structures.

## **2.4 Sport for Development**

The rhetoric of the World Cup proclaims a lasting socio-economic legacy for Africa, particularly the strengthening of football structures among underprivileged populations. It is therefore important to ask why developing football at the grassroots should be a priority impact of the World Cup, and what role football, and indeed sport, plays in a developing country context. There is international consensus that sport inherently creates positive social development, as emphasised in the United Nations 2003 Report on the Millennium Development Goals which states that sport:

[B]rings individuals and communities together, highlighting commonalities and bridging cultural or ethnic divides [...] provides a forum to learn skills such as discipline, confidence and leadership, and it teaches core principles such as tolerance, cooperation and respect [...] can cut across barriers that divide societies, making it a powerful tool to support conflict prevention and peace building efforts [...] and [...] promote[s] social integration and foster[s] tolerance, helping reduce social tension and generate dialogue' (cited in Perks, 2007).

This extract exemplifies the widespread assumptions that exist about the benefits of sport. The UN have brought forth the concept "sport for all" in aiming to maximise access to, and participation in, forms of physical activity as a fundamental human right and essential for individuals of all ages to lead healthy and fulfilling lives (UN, 2003). Furthermore, the UN declare that 'sport is a "school for life", teaching basic values and life skills important for holistic development' and is a 'powerful vehicle for public education, while sporting events can effectively increase awareness and galvanise support and action around key issues' (UN, pg. 8, 2003). A relatively new "buzz word" in development circles is the notion of social capital. Social capital theorists, ~~such as Putman~~, argue that sport increases social capital which in turn promotes development, or as Perks claims, 'social capital [i]s a by-product of social interactions that makes subsequent collaborative work easier and more likely' (Perks, pg. 379, 2007). This alludes to sport being an enabler of social interactions which prompt further positive social interactions, and hence, community development. In the South African context, it has been suggested that sport has the potential to unite the previously divided population (Roberts 1995 cited in Hargreaves, 2000). The

Lucy Caroline Mills  
Masters Thesis 2010  
Supervisor Dr. Jacques De Wet

provision of sport for disadvantaged communities became an ANC priority for which the National Sports Council was set up in the new democratic era (Hargreaves, pg. 15, 2000). Unfortunately, however, perpetuated conditions of poverty in post-apartheid South Africa means that barriers to sports participation in townships are still entrenched, with sport being viewed a low priority, even irrelevant, amid the daily hardship of many.



*Training, Khayelitsha, August 2009*

The international community has popularised sport as a tool for development, with sport now featuring prominently in development programmes worldwide. Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) are using football as a tool, and the hype of the World Cup, to strive for social development in their beneficiary communities. In Cape Town for example, the American-funded non-governmental organisation Grassroot Soccer views the World Cup as an ideal opportunity to highlight the power of football as an educational tool and to raise awareness of the global HIV/AIDS pandemic. Grassroot Soccer is using the build up to the World Cup to 'share the

Lucy Caroline Mills  
Masters Thesis 2010  
Supervisor Dr. Jacques De Wet

effectiveness and scalability of Grassroot Soccer's programming and make significant impact on the spread of HIV/AIDS in Southern Africa (Grassroot Soccer office conversation, April 2009). Similarly, the NGO Thembalitsha piloted a township fan park concept for youths during the Confederations Cup, and incorporated football, entertainment and life-skills programmes throughout match screenings, with view to scaling up that model in various township communities during the World Cup (*Sport4Development Network* minutes, June 2009). These are just two examples of the numerous organisations which utilise sport in order to reach out to people and as a medium to deliver their agenda.



*A Grassroot Soccer coach with his football team, Khayelitsha, August 2009*

As well as the rise in popularity for sport for development, there is increasing criticism that sport has now been caught up in the highly contested international aid system. It has been queried whether certain aspects of the sport for development approach are at risk of failing or even contributing to underdevelopment in the same way that other international development programmes have been shown to (Akindes

and Kirwin, 2006). With the flow of resources for sport for development predominantly coming from Northern donor states to Southern recipient states, we are presented with the classical development assistance process which is informed by an ethos that places Third World countries at the receiving end of development (Fokwang, 2009). Will sport for development programmes that are initiated by external Northern-based organisations, such as FIFA, be prone to failure and simply echo past development blunders? ~~Will sport for development programmes that are initiated by external Northern-based organisations, such as FIFA, be prone to failure and simply echo past development blunders?~~ Sport for development initiatives that are being set up as a result of the World Cup can be critically analysed through a neo-colonial lens. This stance posits that the work of organisations leans primarily in favour of Western interests and promotes a drift towards global cultural homogeneity (Tomlinson, 1991). Furthermore, Levermore argues that sport for development projects are linked with the goals of neoliberalism and modernisation by strengthening physical infrastructure, by creating a stronger, stable social and economic environment, particularly through life-skills and employment initiatives, and by encouraging the involvement of multinational businesses and private interests in development (Levermore, 2009). Are development activities that are tied in with the World Cup merely extending capitalist expansion in the current global political economy?

## **2.5 The Global and The Local**

I turn to globalisation of sport scholars for the framework within which to explain global processes and local interactions. In this study I deem the research respondents to be best positioned to negotiate World Cup opportunities to their advantage and to inform whether there are foundations or signs of a sport and development legacy. These perceptions are analysed by using the below globalisation of sport theoretical lens.

Roche draws attention to how a new wave of sports studies identifies and shows an awareness of “post-national” global-level society, that is, ‘distinctive economic,

cultural and political dimensions that characterise an emerging global level of social organisation' (Roche, 2006). The World Cup is contextualised within this global society and features many of the components associated with global processes. The question of where and how people at the grassroots, the local, or the community-level fit into this global society is pertinent to this thesis. When exploring how the World Cup is affecting people and football development, this intrinsically lends to an exploration of how they interact with global forces, or globalisation. Roche distinguishes two interpretations of the concept globalisation and applies them to mega-events. Firstly, the "basic globalisation" perspective assumes that: globalisation is a deterministic process; standardisation and uniformity occur in all spheres of life; time and space are compressed via mass communications, transport and technologies; and impacts are felt at the national rather than sub or trans-national levels. According to this view, sport mega-events are considered cultural carriers of globalising forces; as disseminators of a uniform sports culture; and as involving a periodic compression of space and time. The second interpretation of globalisation- which Roche rather aligns herself with- is what she calls "complex globalisation". This perspective assumes that: globalisation involves the possibility for collective agency, response and influence by political and cultural collectives such as nations, organisations and movements; differentiation and particularisation does occur; localities can connect with global circuits; and reconstructions of temporal and spatial differences take place (Roche, 2006). Roche calls for sport mega-events to be seen through this latter lens. The challenge for global sport scholarship is to discover whether the World Cup represents a deterministic, standardising capitalist force unable to be resisted by local forces- and therefore inherently imperialistic in nature- or whether it offers the opportunity for local agents and spaces to influence and interact with global processes, thus strengthening and shaping their own identity. The latter has been coined "glocalisation" by various scholars, which implies 'interpenetration of the local and the global, the universal and the particular, and homogeneity and heterogeneity' (Giulianotti and Robertson, pg. 60, 2007). Rather than viewing the "global" and the "local" as exclusive and oppositional, whereby the "global" signifies a rejection or abolition of the "local", glocalisation pinpoints the interdependencies of, and interconnections between, the two entities. Just as connectivity occurs as a result of globalisation processes, disconnectivity is also a product, whereby 'societies are



Lucy Caroline Mills  
Masters Thesis 2010  
Supervisor Dr. Jacques De Wet

unable or unwilling to establish many receptor points for global flows [...] have endured structural crises arising from neoliberal economic reforms or downturns in commodity markets' (Giulianotti and Robertson, pg. 63, 2007). Relating forms of disconnectivity to sport, the authors highlight how in the developing world, poverty, unemployment and forced migration have disconnected people from sporting opportunities. One of the foci of this thesis is to probe the extent to which the 2010 World Cup will play out forms of glocalisation, connectivity or disconnectivity.

University Of Cape Town

## CHAPTER THREE: CONCEPTUALISATION OF THE RESEARCH QUESTION

### 3.1 Research Questions

Formatted

The central research question was: “Is the 2010 World Cup promoting a lasting legacy for football and development at the grassroots in South Africa and continent wide?”.

In order to gauge the World Cup’s sport and development legacy potential, I designed four sub-questions that span the breadth of the central research question. They are:

- 1) Is a Pan-African legacy evolving as a result of the World Cup?
- 2) What are the respondents’ experiences of grassroots football in Southern Africa?
- 3) What developmental/ football activities are currently underway- and by whom- as a result of South Africa hosting the World Cup?
- 4) What are the perceptions of people in football positions such as coaches and administrators about how they may benefit from the World Cup and how do they feel they can contribute to its current and future impacts?

This chapter interrogates the key concepts and themes used in the above research questions. The key term in this study is “legacy”. FIFA and the South African government have labelled the 2010 World Cup an “African World Cup” with emphasis being placed on how to stimulate Pan-African benefits and maximise a breadth of economic and socio-cultural opportunities. The term “legacy” therefore has been coined to signify the positive changes that are intended to take place continent-wide. The research respondents are largely located in the field, either in sport for development organisations or in grassroots sports structures. These people are best positioned to observe or experience the beginnings of a legacy. Both structures work with poorer populations living in disadvantaged areas of Cape Town

and Lusaka. Football is increasingly being used as a tool for development, as was explained in the **b**Background section of Sport for Development. This study focuses on perceptions and people's lived experiences. These narratives form the basis of investigations into whether there are structures or opportunities in place to denote the occurrence of a sport and development legacy. Responses in both Cape Town and Lusaka serve as a comparative and pan-African analysis to test the rhetoric that the World Cup is an "African World Cup" with benefits reaching another African country beside South Africa.

This chapter now goes on to conceptualise the research questions. Firstly, I justify the significance of exploring the impact of a mega-event upon grassroots sport and development. Next, I delve deeper into FIFA's official legacy campaign, the Football For Hope movement, and more specifically the new Football For Hope Centre in Khayelitsha. Since respondents are from both Cape Town and Lusaka, this chapter interrogates the African Renaissance movement which informs the African Legacy Programme. Following this is a presentation of existing literature and research on who really benefits from mega-events. The chapter concludes with "global" and "local" debates as well as whether there is potential, based on existing literature, of benefiting from global processes at the "local".

### **3.2 Testing the Rhetoric of a Mega-Event**

There seems to be an uneasy paradox of sport mega-events as hallmarks of neoliberalism, modernity and pro-growth cities, and then the notion that sport is inherently positive for all societies. Interestingly, ~~Michael~~-Hall remarks that to criticise the hosting of a mega-event as an economic and social development mechanism is to be 'doubly-damned', 'for one contends not only with the neoliberal discourse of competition and the relentless pursuit of regeneration but also with the mythologies of the social benefits of sport' (~~Michael~~-Hall, pg. 67, 2006). This could be one of the main reasons why mega-events have continued to be a popular strategy by governments as both regeneration and the inherent belief that sport is good for society are encompassed in the rhetoric of such an event.

The deemed benefits of neoliberalism upon the poor ties into the research questions as they probe the extent to which people and community sports structures at the grassroots are benefiting from the World Cup. It must be noted that the term “grassroots” implies locations within communities which are aimed at mass participation and inclusion, and are usually within disadvantaged areas. The challenge for countries hosting sports mega-events is to redesign and structure the event and its supplementary activities so that these population at large can benefit. This is particularly pertinent in South Africa, where under the government’s post-apartheid Washington Consensus approach, conditions for a large majority of the population have not improved and inequalities have been exacerbated. The nature of mega-events pose major challenges to conventional development theory, in that they are large in scale; sectorally-focused; implemented in a top-down way- largely by external institutions; and highly concentrated in terms of time and space (Cornelissen, 2008). These facets conflict with the concept of sustainable development. Rather than top-down, centrally-planned, bureaucratic development projects, development increasingly implies the need to look towards civil society for participation, and for communities to define a developmental vision for themselves (Mohan and Stokke, 2000).

### **3.3 FIFA’s Official Legacy Campaign**

The history of FIFA sheds light on the unequal distribution and operation of football globally, however the new initiative Football For Hope marks a commitment by FIFA to address social issues in disadvantaged areas. Respondents share their opinions, observations and experiences of FIFA’s official legacy campaign.

One Football For Hope Centre was built in Khayelitsha, Cape Town and opened in December 2009. FIFA stipulated that the Centres should be hosted and run by a community NGO. For an NGO to be eligible to apply to become a Centre “host”, they have to be part of the Football For Hope movement or a member of the streetfootballworld network. Or as a Grassroot Soccer Manager clarifies:

'if you've received grants and you've submitted a report and completed the whole cycle so you've shown, you've at least gone through the process of monitoring and evaluation, you've shown commitment, you're a real organisation, you exist, you have had to have gone through that process at least once to be considered a member of the Football For Hope movement. Once you're a member you can apply for a Football For Hope Centre and there's a whole big long process of how you apply'.

Therefore, hosts are chosen on the basis of their organisational capacities and performance indicators. The Khayelitsha Development Forum requested a Centre to be built in Khayelitsha and received backing from the City, Province and SAFA. Although Grassroot Soccer is an international NGO, being part of the Football For Hope Movement with a strong reputation and organisational capacity, they were granted hosting rights.

Grassroot Soccer have been granted 5 year hosting rights and their long term vision for the Centre is based on providing sustainable programmes and activities that ultimately ensure that the Centre can be passed on to the City and be maintained by local community members. Grassroot Soccer manager envisages that:

'somebody who is 14 who goes through one of the Grassroot Soccer programmes, as a 16 year old becomes a peer educator, as an 18 year old becomes a coach, as a 20 year old becomes a community coordinator, so in 5 years time there's this pool of people that are strong enough to become their own organisation to manage the centre'.

This Centre ~~was part of the~~ ~~has been a key~~ research focus, since it is deemed to create sustainable development way after the World Cup has taken place.

### **3.4 The 2010 World Cup: An African Legacy?**

The first sub-question demands the deconstruction of the concept 'pan-African'. The 2010 World Cup has been labelled an "African World Cup" with emphasis being placed on how to stimulate Pan-African benefits and maximise a breadth of economic and socio-cultural opportunities. The term "legacy" has been coined to signify the positive changes that are intended to take place continent-wide. A working definition of "legacy" is 'something of substance that will enhance the long-term well-being or lifestyle of destination residents in a very substantial manner preferably in a way that reflects the values of the local population' (NCDO, pg. 15, 2008). The Local Organising Committee (LOC), in joint responsibility with the South African government, launched the African Legacy Programme in November 2006 (African Legacy Programme slideshow, pdf accessed June 2009). The objectives are:

- Support the realisation of African Renaissance objectives, including programs of the African Union like the NEPAD
- Ensure maximum and effective African participation at the 2010 FIFA World Cup
- Support efforts aimed at strengthening and promoting the development and advancement of African football
- Contribute to improving Africa's global image, thus combating Afro-pessimism



*Legacy construction, Khayelitsha, August 2009*

According to documentation on the African Legacy programme, the legacy agenda is different to previous mega-event agendas as the benefits are not intended to be confined to the host country; the host country itself has made an undertaking to make a continent wide legacy one of the core focus areas of preparations for the event; and the African Union as an intergovernmental forum for continental integration is actively involved in efforts aimed at ensuring that the 2010 FIFA World Cup Legacy agenda is owned continent wide (African Legacy Programme slideshow, pdf accessed June 2009). One of the approaches is to support and promote the 6 pillars of the African Renaissance, which are listed as democratic governance; peace and nation building; affirmation and assertion of Africa's culture; pan-African solidarity and South African co-operation and the improvement of Africa's global standing and social and economic development.

The African Legacy Programme alludes to the concept of African Renaissance. Bongmba argues that, as a general response to the crisis in Africa, the African

Renaissance is an imperative as it demands a post-nationalist agenda that takes the African region seriously, given its precarious socio-economic situation (Bongmba, 2004). African Renaissance discourse is rooted in African identity politics whereby people are struggling to reclaim their identities which have been distorted by 'the construction of colonial domination and the post-colonial fiasco of statism and dictatorial leadership' (Bongmba, 2004). The African Renaissance movement in that it calls for renewal of the whole continent rather than one country, is reflected in the rhetoric of the World Cup. Rather than it just being South Africa benefiting, the South African government and the LOC pledge that other African countries will benefit too and South Africa will be showcasing the whole of Africa.

South Africa consistently invoked African Renaissance discourse in their World Cup hosting bid. The slogan 'It's Africa's Turn!' is a reminder that the continent has never had the opportunity to host the World Cup, and no doubt was geared towards rallying support from other African countries too (Cornelissen, 2004). Furthermore, Cornelissen's discourse analysis of the narratives surrounding South Africa's 2006 and 2010 World Cup hosting bids exposes how South Africa 'built their campaign[s] on a certain rhetorical portrayal of Africa that both asserted and challenged the views of the continent that predominantly cast it as struggling, lost or backward' (Cornelissen, pg. 1306, 2004). In other words, the World Cup rhetoric was built upon the continents' position in the broader international system, calling on both neo-colonial expressions of previous unjust exploitation while at the same time carving out postcolonial rhetoric.

Sport mega-events provide a unique opportunity for governments to engage in what Black calls 'symbolic politics', that is to 'signal important changes of direction, reframe dominant narratives about the host, and/or reinforce key messages of change' (Black, pg. 261, 2007). Governments use rhetoric of change to generate societal support. Such symbolic politics has been used in World Cup discourse. Thabo Mbeki's statement to FIFA executives as part of South Africa's final submission for rights to host the 2010 World Cup (cited in Cornelissen, 2007) is exemplary of how



South Africa's hosting bid conjured up the plight of the African continent and alluded to how the World Cup, by coming to South Africa, would confront these issues:

'This is an African journey of hope- hope that in time we will arrive at a future when on our continent will be free of wars, refugees and displaced people, free of tyranny, of racial, ethnic and religious divisions of conflict, of hunger and the accumulated weight of centuries of our denial of human dignity... Nothing could ever serve to energise our people to work for their and Africa's upliftment more than to integrate among the tasks of our second Decade of Democracy and the African Renaissance or successful hosting of the 2010 Soccer World Cup'

The pan-African rhetoric employed in the bidding for the hosting of the World Cup touched on poignant issues and were sure to attract support from prominent figures continent wide, and indeed populations at large. The rallying of public support for what is an exorbitantly costly event is actually one of the critical ingredients for success in bidding contests and on top of that, the moral and inspiring vision surely went along way in allocating South Africa the 2010 finals (Black, 2007).

### **3.5 Who Benefits?**

One of the research questions asks respondents who typically benefits from a mega-event. What do benefits look like and how do respondents interpret them? Sport mega-events leave a legacy of world-class facilities for training, coaching and competitions but it is questionable the extent to which emphasis on elite-level sport compromises support for mass sports participation, by the way they subvert public funds (Black and Van Der Westhuizen, 2004). Who really benefits and how is the World Cup legacy being played out so that communities, particularly those that are disadvantaged, can experience positive impacts? Flyvbjerg et al. (2003) argue that promoters of multi-billion dollar projects, such as the construction of elite sport stadia, may 'consistently, systematically and self-servingly mislead governments and the public in order to get projects approved' (Flyvbjerg et al. cited in Horne and Manzenreiter, pg. 10, 2006). Political, socio-economic benefits tend to be overstated, while at the same time costs and environmental impacts tend to be understated (Horne and Manzenreiter, 2006). This is particularly crucial in a developing country context

where there are other pressing needs to address, as exemplified in Nigeria, where the government spent \$330 million on a new national football stadium, which was more than the annual national government expenditures on health and education (Farah, 2001 cited in Matheson and Baade, 2004). Alegi's study on Green Point stadium in Cape Town holds resonance here. He examined the policy decision that inspired the construction of a new stadium on Green Point common in Cape Town and considered the potential effects of this strategy on sports in poor communities (Alegi, 2007). South Africa's initial 2010 hosting bid proposed Newlands stadium as a venue for first round matches and a quarterfinal, which was deemed appropriate by FIFA officials in 2004. The newly-elected provincial ANC government however proposed to change the venue from Newlands to Athlone Stadium, in the Cape Flats (Alegi, 2007). Athlone has long been a hub for footballing activities and is home to a number of men's and women's leagues and teams. The ANC's decision was an attempt to restructure the apartheid legacy of inadequate sports infrastructure in historically black and coloured areas- the Cape Flats for example, has a population of 3 million, many poor, unemployed and vulnerable to crime (Alegi, 2007). Teral Cullen, the City of Cape Town's 2010 Project Director, stated that 'having the World Cup at Athlone [...] would be a catalyst for other development, which is why the City of Cape Town wants it there' (Cullen cited in Alegi, pg. 319, 2007). After a site visit in 2005 by FIFA, Athlone Stadium was rejected and rather suggested Green Point as a preferential site, 'nestled between the majestic backdrop of Signal Hill, Lion's Head, and Table Mountain on the one side, and Robben Island and Table Bay on the other', which would be a 'magnificent and memorable television image of the city to billions of viewers worldwide' (Alegi, pg. 320, 2007). It must be remembered however, that FIFA's decision-making is grounded in financial reality, since it finances its entire operations through the promotion of tournaments like the World Cup (Matheson and Baade, 2004). It is now the matter of who will benefit from the world-class stadium that is situated far from underprivileged communities.



*Green Point Stadium under construction, September 2008*

Alegi thus argues that dominant forces in the changing political economy of world sport, such as FIFA, influence and shape hegemonic interests and agendas within South Africa, and that global and institutional interests serve to undermine, rather than strengthen, grassroots sports in historically disadvantaged communities (Alegi, 2007). Hence as we have seen with Green Point stadium, official planning and preparation, as well as the government's domestic objectives, 'bend to the preferences and intentions of actors belonging to the overarching international political economy' (Cornelissen, pg. 257, 2007). Although it is ambiguous as to whether Cape Town's World Cup stadium will benefit football development at the grassroots, this thesis identifies other activities targeted for grassroots football development that are happening as a result of the World Cup coming to South Africa. There has been a rise in corporate social responsibility programmes associated to those corporate and transnational corporations featuring in the World Cup. Similarly, some NGOs are capitalising on the power of football and the global attention of the World Cup to continue, or kick-start, development programmes.

To summarise, evidence shows that it is the wealthier cohorts of society who typically benefit from global mega-events. The 2010 FIFA World Cup Legacy aims to subvert this as its rhetoric points to disadvantaged communities benefiting. The research aims to test this to see if it is actually happening.

### **3.6 Sport for Development**

Many of the respondents are representatives of sport for development NGOs therefore it is pertinent to critique this relatively new field and consider the stance that representatives of these organisations may take. Sport has now been caught up in the highly contested international aid system. If projects are primarily donor-driven, ~~Vanreusel and Au~~ [Vanauweele](#) are warranted in questioning whether sport actually makes a difference to those people with whose help and for whose benefit such projects are set up ([Vanauweele et al, 2006](#))~~Vanreusel and Auweele, 2006~~). Fokwang calls for a shift in development thinking, and more specifically in the sport for development paradigm, towards South to North knowledge transfers, as well as the consideration of the cultural specificity of development settings and communities empowering themselves via locally-driven sport (Fokwang, 2009). The desired shift in the sport for development field reflects the wider desired shift in the development industry at large. The inclusion of indigenous knowledges is now perceived to be the way forward in that they draw on the knowledge of a population to understand local conditions and environments as well as offering them accountability and control over the development process (Briggs and Sharp, 2004). There are a vast number of community-based organisations that pursue sport programmes in their communities, for example youth football clubs. By locating themselves in a local, micro-scale environment, such grassroots organisations are considered to reach the poor, especially in inaccessible areas (Hulme and Edwards, 1997), a situation which according to Clark, has enabled them to assume ‘the role of ambassadors for the world’s poor’ (Clark cited in Nyamugasira, pg. 297, 1998). Sport development policies need to be reoriented towards youth, school and amateur programmes in urban townships and rural villages as is these constituencies that can make a contribution to the development of a vibrant, healthier and more democratic South Africa (Alegi, 2000). Are these so-called “ambassadors of the poor” delivering sports

Lucy Caroline Mills  
Masters Thesis 2010  
Supervisor Dr. Jacques De Wet

effectively? Is there much difference between these organisations and sport for development NGOs? This thesis explores whether the World Cup is availing opportunities to these structures, thereby acting as an appropriate vehicle for delivering the lasting legacy.



*Football team from Lusaka competing in a SCORE sports tournament, September 2009*

### **3.7 Grobal and Glocal?**

This thesis asks respondents how they believe they may benefit from the World Cup and how they feel they can contribute to its current and future impacts. This indicates an interaction between the “local” and the “global”. Andrews and Ritzer suggest that the “global game” has experienced widespread diffusion, or glocalisation- simultaneously functioning as a source of collective identity, among other things, in numerous occasions, and at the same time (Andrews and Ritzer, 2007). However, given that mega-events have expanded from a particular ideology, with corporatisation, commercialisation and capitalism overshadowing the actual playing of the sport, this type of football- a showcase elitist spectacle- is far removed from the kind of football experienced by the masses worldwide. That this event can engage

Lucy Caroline Mills  
Masters Thesis 2010  
Supervisor Dr. Jacques De Wet

with grassroots football (globalisation processes) to the extent that football structures at the grassroots reciprocally influence the World Cup (glocalisation processes) has rarely been queried.

## **CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

### **4.1 Research Aims**

This thesis engages in the debate of the interaction between global political and economic processes and the “local”, using football and the World Cup as the central component of exploration. Globalisation, transnational corporations and neoliberalism have gained widespread criticism for perpetuating the marginalisation of poor people. Given that the World Cup encompasses these globalising processes, this thesis explores how people at the local level, predominantly underprivileged populations, are interacting and benefiting from the World Cup. It explores whether

Lucy Caroline Mills  
Masters Thesis 2010  
Supervisor Dr. Jacques De Wet

the 2010 FIFA World Cup is promoting a lasting legacy for football and development at the grassroots in South Africa and Zambia. This is a particularly prominent angle of research since the basis of the hosting bid was centred on creating a lasting socio-economic legacy for the poor majority in South Africa and continent-wide. This research looks at what is really happening in grassroots football structures in Cape Town and Lusaka- whether the sports legacy promises and the discourse that FIFA, the South African government and the LOC have employed, is really being translated into football and social development among populations that are most lacking in adequate access to sports structures and participation. The compilation of perceptions, experiences and accounts from people representing a wide range of organisations in sport and development structures contributes to a comprehensive picture of whether it is likely that there will be a lasting legacy for South Africa and beyond as a result of the World Cup being hosted in South Africa in 2010.

### **Central Research Question**

Is the 2010 World Cup promoting a lasting legacy for football and development at the grassroots in South Africa and continent wide?

### **Research Sub-Questions**

- Is a Pan-African legacy evolving as a result of the World Cup?
- What are the respondents' experiences of grassroots football in Southern Africa?

- What developmental/ football activities are currently underway- and by whom- as a result of South Africa hosting the World Cup?
- What are the perceptions of people in football positions such as coaches and administrators about how they may benefit from the World Cup and how do they feel they can contribute to its current and future impacts?

#### **4.2 Data Collection**

There were a number of approaches I took throughout my research process to test the legacy claims surrounding the World Cup. I searched for and reviewed journal articles, periodicals and local publications concerning the globalisation of sport, mega-events, the World Cup and sport for development. I also examined the written material produced by FIFA, the South African government and the LOC referring to the World Cup's lasting legacy of football and social development to gain a sense of the rhetoric that is being employed and the promises made. I came to understand what activities sports organisations, non-governmental and community-based organisations are planning in relation to the World Cup by scanning websites, emailing for information and interviewing representatives from a wider variety of organisations. At the heart of the research were 20 in-depth interviews with key personnel (programme managers, programme coordinators, coaches, administrators, sport journalist) in sports and governmental organisations, NGOs and CBOs in Cape Town, South Africa and Lusaka, Zambia. Through this I was able to uncover lived experiences of local men and women involved in football structures and sports development NGOs/CBOs.

#### **4.3 Research Design**

A qualitative research design was chosen for the research project. Qualitative methods are deemed most appropriate to discovering perceptions of all relevant stakeholders. Interacting with people via qualitative methods enables the study of human action in its natural setting, and emphasises the observing and understanding of detailed information within the specific and appropriate context (Babbie & Mouton



2001). The research design placed emphasis both on individuals' experiences and perceptions, and added richness.

I complimented much of my preparatory work and fieldwork- such as my experiences with Grassroot Soccer in Cape Town and Lusaka and attendance to forums, meetings and training sessions- with descriptive qualitative research. Through observing and note taking in the field I became familiar with day-to-day life in the specified research site, and became to understand people's prevalent attitudes, communication styles, ways of approaching tasks and so on. Documenting concepts used by a particular group to deal with an aspect of their life is known as "ethnosemantics" (Open University, 1993). I adopted this approach, as a peripheral, but no less important, part of my research process as I came to understand the broader socio-cultural context within which my research is located.

#### **4.4 Scope of Research**

Below I describe why and how I chose Cape Town and Lusaka as research sites for the study.

##### ***Cape Town, South Africa***

Being based at the University of Cape Town, for practical and logistical reasons I conducted research in Cape Town. Playing football and working in the Sport for Development field in Cape Town also means that I am well connected to football communities therefore access to participants was relatively straightforward.



*UCT women's football team competing in a 5-a-side tournament, September 2008*

A further important reason as to why I chose Cape Town as a research location is that it is one of the host cities for 2010 matches, including a semi-final. The building of Green Point stadium is a particularly critical issue when considering whether the World Cup is benefiting people and football at the grassroots, moreover those people and structures considered to need benefits most. Many businesses, NGOs, government departments and entrepreneurs have targeted Cape Town to build new fields, improve transportation, and increase the number of programmes relating to football.

South Africa's apartheid legacy concreted football as the dominant sport played among black communities. Today, Cape Town's townships have vibrant football leagues and sport for development NGOs target youths for sport and social development programmes. Similarly, Cape Town was an area of initial focus for women's football in South Africa and continues to support large numbers of female participants. Despite high participation in football by both men and women, Cape

Town is marginalised in terms of participating in national events, and from decision-making processes and gaining resources. Gauteng province rather is the cultural, economic and administrative centre of domestic football with the headquarters of the 2010 local organising committee, the South African Football Association and the Premier Soccer League being located there (Alegi, 2007).

Given that Cape Town is geographically marginalised from South Africa's football community, as well as under-resourced, but is experiencing extensive renovations to sufficiently gear up the city to host matches and associated tourism, it is meaningful to see whether these efforts will improve Cape Town's marginalised status of football.

### *Lusaka, Zambia*

The 2010 World Cup is being promoted as the African World Cup, with the promise of it creating a lasting legacy for Africa. For example, Thabo Mbeki expressed how the World Cup would revive the African Renaissance, and World Cup rhetoric has suggested that the international image of Africa will change as a result of the World Cup coming to Africa. It is therefore an innovative scope of analysis to carry out research in another African country to see whether people in similar positions in similar sport, NGO and government structures to those I chose to research in Cape Town perceive other African countries, and Zambia in particular, to benefit long-term from South Africa hosting the World Cup, particularly whether they are seeing football and grassroots development occurring. Zambia, located within Southern Africa, is ranked 165<sup>th</sup> out of 177 countries on the Human Development Index with three-quarters of its population being recorded as living below the World Bank poverty threshold of \$1 a day (Right To Play, 2009). There are ~~an ever-increasing~~ number of organisations mobilising sport as a tool for development. The government is also increasingly recognising the role that sport can have on its nation. For example, in May 2007, the government signed a Memorandum of Understanding with UK Sport for the implementation of the International Sport for Development Program, of which its overall goal is 'to transform the lives of millions of children and youths in

schools and communities through sporting and physical education activities' (Right To Play, pg. 1, 2009).

There has been particular interest for international football in Zambia throughout 2009 as the national team ~~isare~~ close to qualifying for the World Cup, an aspiration that has never previously been fulfilled.

#### **4.5 Sampling**

My chosen research participants were ~~directors,~~ programme managers, programme coordinators, coaches, ~~peer-educators,~~ administrators, and a journalist representing sports organisations, NGOs and CBOs working in the sport for development field, Football Associations, FIFA and government departments. These stakeholders were chosen to offer a broad spectrum of perspectives on the World Cup and football and development at the grassroots, from international and national macro-level perspectives, through to local-level micro perspectives. CBOs, including community football clubs, and sport for development NGOs are considered to be best situated to facilitate development at the grassroots and reach out to communities, and it is these organisations that are most responsible for capitalising on, and dispersing, benefits associated with the 2010 World Cup.

#### ***Sampling in Cape Town***

I have played football for the University of Cape Town (UCT) women's team for two years, in both the universities league- University Sport South Africa (USSA) and the Cape Town South African Football Association (SAFA) league. We compete at a wide range of locations against teams from varied socio-economic and racial backgrounds. This has enabled me to become extremely familiar with Cape Town's football communities, the facilities and football personnel. There were two initial gatekeepers to whom I am most grateful. Firstly my football coach, who has played and coached in various structures in Cape Town her whole life. And secondly, a programme coordinator at Grassroot Soccer, whom assisted with my research by

allowing me to carry out participant observations and interviews during a street soccer tournament, and forwarded me names of potential research participants.

I attended the Sport4Development network forum held in Rondebosch, Cape Town on the first Tuesday of every month whereby representatives from sport and development organisations come together to improve the communication and resource and ideas sharing between organisations. Organisations represented include Amandla Ku Lutsha, New World Foundation, Thembalitsha, Soccer and Service Tours, Sporting Chance, Hoops for Hope, TAG Rugby, Grassroot Soccer, Kicking for Peace, Coaching for Hope and Imbizo Street Soccer. At these meetings I came to learn of developmental initiatives happening in the run up to, and as a result of, the World Cup. I visited some of these initiatives, for example, the big screen live showing of the Confederations Cup games in a township near Somerset West, organised by the organisation Thembalitsha, whose aim was to bring the excitement and buzz of the Confederations Cup to youths there, while providing entertainment and life-skills programmes prior to games. These visits enabled me to get a sense of what is happening in the run up to the World Cup.

For larger NGOs, SAFA, FIFA and government representatives I was able to contact them via email as advertised on their prospective websites. For several research participants from smaller community-based organisations, I obtained their names and organisations they are involved in from a publication of the Western Cape Youth Development Through Football (YDF) Conference that was held at UCT in December 2008. The YDF initiative, funded by the German Technical Cooperation (GTZ) aims to strengthen existing sport for development programmes and the conference brought together interested stakeholders to discuss, among numerous other issues, how to develop strategies to ensure an inclusive, participative 2010 World Cup. I included questions about this legacy initiative in my research design to evaluate whether participants felt it was materialising effectively and successfully. I identified organisations from geographically diverse locations in Cape Town to ensure my sample of participants represented sites such as the Cape Flats, Gugulethu,

Khayelitsha and other football hubs. I approached people via email and all respondents showed enthusiasm to participate in my research. We then continued communication via telephone and arranged meetings at their most suitable time and venue.

I brainstormed a generic interview schedule comprising all issues I felt needed to be discussed. In order to answer my research question most efficiently, I formulated groups of interview questions which corresponded to each of my sub-themes. I adapted the interview content depending on the participant, just to assure that relevance was maintained throughout the interview. Over the period May-June and August- September I conducted in-depth interviews with representatives from the following organisations:

- FIFA Football For Hope Programme- 20 Centres for 2010

*FIFA's official campaign of the World Cup which was developed by FIFA's Corporate Social Responsibility department*

- Grassroot Soccer

*International NGO which uses soccer as a tool to educate youth and raise awareness of HIV/AIDS*

- Western Province Department for Cultural Affairs and Sport: 2010 Unit

*Created to coordinate 2010 activities in the Western Cape*

- South African Football Association (SAFA)

*Head office in Johannesburg with 52 decentralised regional offices throughout the country*

- Soccer 4 Hope

*An offshoot of NGO Hoops For Hope, specialises in promoting girls' football*

- Red Eagles Women's Football Club

*Community-based amateur women's football club in Cape Town*

Lucy Caroline Mills  
Masters Thesis 2010  
Supervisor Dr. Jacques De Wet

- Cape Flats Soccer Development

*Community-based football, coaching and lifeskills NGO working with marginalised youths in the Cape Flats, Cape Town*

- Khayelitsha Sports Council

*Governs sports activities and liaises with the local Development Forum to plan and oversee activities in the area*

- Department of Sport and Recreation, Cape Town

*South African government's sports department, with provincial offices in Cape Town*

- Amandla Ku Lutsha

*Cape Town based NGO which runs football leagues and leadership programmes for orphans and youths residing in children's homes*



*Grassroot Soccer Skillz tournament, August 2009*



### *Sampling in Lusaka*

At the beginning of July I travelled to Lusaka to work for Grassroot Soccer, the organisation I had been volunteering for in Cape Town. I coordinated the GRS Zambia strategic planning process as they transitioned towards becoming a local NGO, largely autonomous from GRS USA and South Africa. Part of my job there was to meet with donors, partners and other sports and HIV/AIDS organisations to gauge what the external perceptions and expectations of GRS were in order to shape future partnerships and activities. Through this networking I was able to make extensive contacts for my thesis research. I embraced participatory approaches—decentring myself from a position of power as much as possible during research fieldwork, as well as in GRS activities such as brainstorming ideas sessions with stakeholders, and I have learnt the value of such an approach in that it generates multiple, innovative ideas which have the potential to shape organisational and project direction.



*Grassroot Soccer Office, Lusaka, July 2009*



During my 5-week stay in Lusaka, Zambia, I watched several local league football matches that took place on weekends in Bauleni compound. It was during one of these matches I spoke with the Director of the Bauleni United Sports Academy (BUSA), about issues regarding football development at the grassroots in Africa and indeed the World Cup coming to Africa. BUSA is a community-based organisation with around 600 youth members participating in several sports such as football, volleyball and chess and offers various life-skills programmes through the sporting structures. The organisation is one of Zambia's successful sport for development organisations and its relationship with other sport for development organisations seems to embrace dialogue and ideas sharing in an effective way. I was informed of how organisations were mobilising efforts in the run up to the World Cup to capitalise on the first African World Cup. It was then I realised that exploring the so-called African Legacy from the perspective of another African country besides South Africa would be an intriguing and valuable analysis.

Due to the integrated nature of Lusaka's sport for development organisations, I was able to get in contact with various directors, coaches and peer educators working in a wide range of football structures and organisations with great ease, either via informal meetings in the field, or by emailing recommended individuals. Given that I was restricted to 5 weeks, I was limited to staying within Lusaka, but acknowledge that rural perspectives would differ substantially to the ones promulgated in Lusaka. The first two weeks I spent observing various sport for development and community football structures in Garden and Bauleni compounds. I also conducted interviews relating to my work for Grassroot Soccer with various sport organisations, such as Youth For Sport Rehabilitation and Restoration (YOFOSO); HIV/AIDS organisations such as the National AIDS Council; and donors such as UNICEF and RAPIDS. These interviews enabled me to, not only travel extensively across Lusaka, but also get a feel of sport there and how development structures were operating. I also had in-depth informal conversations with Grassroot Soccer programme coordinators and peer educators about issues pertaining to sport for development in Zambia. During this time I researched contact details of personnel from The Football Association Zambia (FAZ), and the Ministry of Youth, Sport and Child Development to get

national perspectives and information. Officials from the government proved too difficult to contact; if I had had more time I would have persisted. However I was able to arrange a meeting with FAZ, who are intrinsically linked to FIFA, which seemed like a vital organisation to incorporate. I developed the interview schedule from the one I had created for interviews in Cape Town, modifying the parts that were not relevant and adding further prompts to gauge people's perceptions on whether they felt that Zambia, and indeed the rest of Africa would benefit, despite the fact that the World Cup is not happening in their country. The Programme Manager of Grassroot Soccer was extremely supportive of me to carry out research there, and enabled me use of the staff vehicle to drive to interview sites. Throughout the latter 3 weeks of my stay I conducted lengthy in-depth interviews with representatives from:

- Grassroot Soccer (GRS), Zambia

*International NGO which uses soccer as an tool to educate youth and raise awareness of HIV/AIDS*

- Bauleni United Sports Academy (BUSA)

*Community-based organisation focusing on sports participation, lifeskills and leadership among youth in Bauleni compound, Lusaka*

- Football Association, Zambia (FAZ)

*Head office in Lusaka*

- Youth For Sport Rehabilitation and Restoration (YOFOSO)

*Small-scale community-based organisation which reaches about 40 youths with sports and educational activities in Garden compound, Lusaka*

- Sports Coaches' Outreach (SCORE), Zambia

*Oldest sport for development organisation in Southern Africa, working in Zambia, South Africa and Namibia which focuses on building sustainable community sports structures*

- Chawama Youth Association/ Chilenge Football Club

*Community-based amateur football club in Lusaka*

Lucy Caroline Mills  
Masters Thesis 2010  
Supervisor Dr. Jacques De Wet

- EduSport

*Well-established sport for development NGO with a good reputation and reach in Zambia*

- Sport In Action (SIA)

*Well-established sport for development NGO with a good reputation and reach in Zambia*

- Sport Department, Lusaka Times newspaper

*Head office in Lusaka*

- Breakthrough Sports Academy (BSA)

*Well-established community-based organisation, a member of the streetfootballworld network*



*Bauleni United Sports Academy (BUSA) football match, July 2009*

#### **4.6 Research Instrument**

Semi-structured in-depth interviews were employed to ensure that I was able to cover specific themes, however the interview schedule did allow for participants to determine what information they deemed relevant. Similarly, it was common for participants to stray from the interview schedule which actually made the interview more enriching, as I was then able to probe into areas not enlisted on the interview schedule. I found this to be one of the most advantageous features of a flexible, semi-structured interview. Interviews were either conducted in the participants' office or in a café. Providing refreshments helped with coming across as approachable and friendly. I found both environments to be sufficiently intimate and relaxed to be able to ask, or expand on, information where needed. The participants largely gave full responses, hence feelings, attitudes and perceptions were captured (Kvale, pg. 198, 1997).

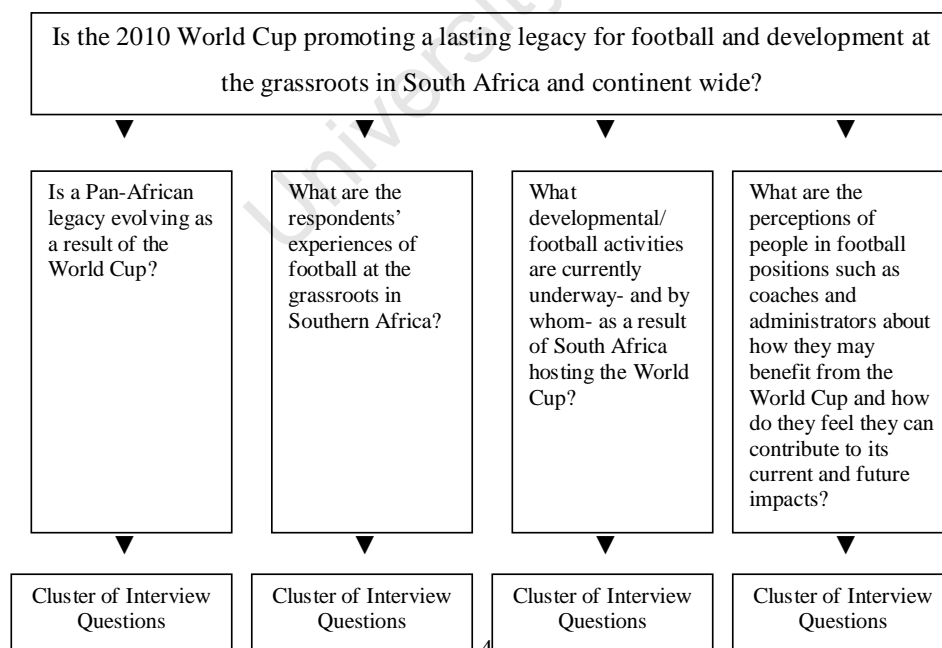
Being already well-connected and informed about the Sport for Development field, the work of various organisations and understanding the implications present in grassroots football, particularly in Cape Town, I found that participants were on the whole enthusiastic to share their views ~~as I sensed that they felt I understood where they were coming from~~. Being so intrinsically involved worked to my advantage in that the participants were open and enthusiastic to be heard. I did identify two disadvantages with my position as an involved researcher though. Firstly, I got the impression that participants expected that I was able to do something about the issues or problems they recounted to me during interviews. Although I did stress that this was not directly the case, I did inform participants that I intend to use the data in multiple ways to try to reach influential decision-makers. Secondly, I felt it necessary, and hard at times, to distance myself in order to keep observations unbiased and avoid influencing the interview or content of research.

During the research process I felt it necessary to continue working on the qualitative research design. This method was extracted from recommendations by Miles and Huberman (1994) whom advocate the modification and customisation of the research

design as the research proceeds. The authors call this process 'anticipatory data reduction' whereby material is selected and condensed on the basis of an emerging conceptual framework (Miles and Huberman, pg. 430, 1994; Fielding and Lee, pg. 40, 1998). Changes included altering the way certain questions were phrased to heighten participants' clarity; omitting certain questions that were irrelevant to the experiences of the participant; and elaborating on points which, having learnt from previous interviews, needed to be prompted and probed further to broaden the scope for analysis. The interview schedule below is the comprehensive list of questions used throughout the research, and where necessary, the schedule was adjusted to fit each specific research context.

#### **4.7 Interview Schedule**

I formulated clusters of questions that directly corresponded to each of my sub-questions. By answering each of the sub-questions I therefore answered my main research question.



#### **4.8 Data Analysis**

I accumulated an extensive amount of transcribed data of approximately 45,000 words. I opted to analyse the data manually as a personal preference ~~in order to feel “closer” to the data and allow creativity to flow. However o~~One downside to this approach was the amount of time I spent organising the data. I chose Miles and Huberman’s approach to analysing qualitative data as my preferred method of data analysis. Part of the reason for this preference is their recommendation of creating an initial list of codes prior to fieldwork to help orient the researcher to the conceptual purpose of the study (Fielding and Lee, 1998). This contrasts with strict grounded theory which follows the principle that the researcher should not approach the research topic with a predetermined structure (Fielding and Lee, 1998). Additionally, my extensive field-notes served as what Miles and Huberman call ‘memos’, that were integrated into, and supported, key discussions (Miles and Huberman, 1994). According to Miles and Huberman, memos ‘tie together different pieces of data into a recognizable cluster, often to show that those data are instances of a general concept [...] [t]hey are the most useful and powerful sense-making tools at hand’ (Miles and Huberman, pg. 72, 1994). Also important was the recognition that distinctions between participants are conceptual as well as empirical, hence they ‘reflect some criterion or criteria in terms of which observations are distinguished and compared (Dey, pg. 96, 1993).

The coding method was used to analyse data. Codes are defined as ‘tags or labels for assigning units of meaning to the descriptive or inferential information compiled during the study’ (Miles and Huberman, pg. 56, 1994). My research sub-themes offered initial guidance to start compiling codes. I then scanned my field notes and data to identify prevalent or contradictory ideas, or phases often repeated throughout. I was aware of Miles and Huberman’s warnings that initial codes may ‘decay’ as no material fits in with them, or ‘flourish’ to the extent that it present a problem of bulk

data under one code (Miles and Huberman, pg. 61, 1994). My first level codes were key words that were predominantly linked to my research sub-questions. I kept in mind advice by Coffey and Atkinson that codes act as links between the locations in the data and sets of concepts or ideas (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996 cited in Basit, 2003). Viewing the codes in this way is consistent with the process of having some pre-determined initial codes that reflect the wider theoretical frameworks I am situating my research within. After organising the data according to initial codes, I then compared and contrasted the assigned data and identified sub-categories or new categories where appropriate, an approach which has been coined the 'constant comparative method' by Glaser and Strauss (1967) (Open University, 1993). Organising the data in this way made way for my own examinations and interpretations as articulated in the discussion. After devising the data into first-level descriptive codes, I followed Miles and Huberman's inferential, or 'pattern coding' technique which summarises data into a smaller number of sets, themes, or constructs (Miles and Huberman, pg. 69, 1994). A key stage in data analysis was moving from first-level coding, whereby codes predominantly derived from key words identified in the sub-questions or data, to second-level coding, whereby codes constituted conceptual categories. Content analysis was required to formulate these second-level codes, in order to assign chunks of text to the relevant theme.

The initial codes I compiled from my research sub-questions were:

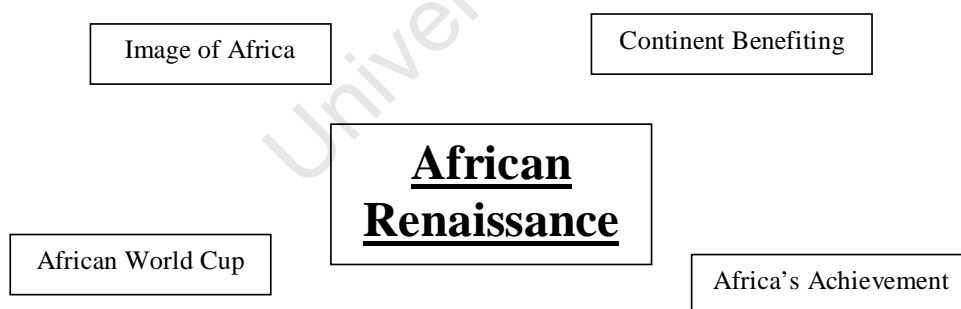
- African World Cup
- Africa's Achievement
- Continent Benefiting
- Image of Africa
- Existing/Community Facilities
- Communication
- Relationship Between Promoters of Grassroots Football and Governing Bodies
- Barriers to Participation
- World Cup Legacy initiatives
- FIFA Football For Hope
- Government and 2010
- Youth Development Through Football (YDF)
- Sport for Development NGOs and 2010
- Community-Based Organisations and 2010
- Stadium Infrastructural Development and "White Elephants"

- Personal Connection to World Cup
- Opportunities
- Involvement in Tournament
- Personal or ~~Q~~organisational ~~B~~enefits
- Communication

Further thorough scrutiny of the data organised within these first-level codes enabled me to compare and contrast the data in a more manageable way. At this stage I was able to group together certain codes under conceptual themes, commencing the analytical part of data analysis. Second-level codes provide a model of understanding the data. These codes encompass the theoretical frameworks within which I have situated my work. These conceptual themes became the second-level codes which guided my discussion. The second-level codes were:

- African Renaissance
- Sport for Development (current community sports infrastructure; barriers to participation)
- Legacy Initiatives
- Responding to Global Trends

These second-level codes enabled me to link up the raw data to the broader theoretical and conceptual frameworks I am drawing from, for example, the global and the local, or “globalisation” and “glocalisation” (Giulianotti and Robertson, 2007; Andrews and Ritzer, 2007). I clustered together first-level codes to a second-level conceptual code:



#### **4.9 Ethical Appraisal**



Lucy Caroline Mills  
Masters Thesis 2010  
Supervisor Dr. Jacques De Wet

Participants were invited to join the research project on a voluntary basis. Prior to taking part in the research, I introduced myself and my background, and explained the purpose and significance of the study. I informed participants that they would remain anonymous within the report, unless they consented otherwise. I also obtained consent to record the interviews and guaranteed that confidentiality of participants was secure.

As a researcher I acknowledge that I am coming at this project from a specific position power and privilege that may not have been shared by all participants and this may have impacted on researcher-participant relations and the information accumulated.

## **CHAPTER FIVE: FINDINGS**

In this chapter I present a representative summary of the data that was generated through my facilitation of interviews with members of 10 participating organisations in both Cape Town and Lusaka. I have organised the findings under the thematic first codes I identified during the transcription and data analysis phase.

### **5.1 African World Cup**

All respondents in Zambia identify the World Cup as being an “African World Cup”. A representative of the Football Association Zambia (FAZ) stated that ‘it is the World Cup that we all feel does not belong to South Africa alone, but to all of Africa’. Similarly, the Director of the NGO EduSport enthused that ‘it is not about South Africa hosting, it is Africa’. A [ssSports](#) journalist for the Lusaka Times does however indicate that the World Cup ‘won’t be coming any closer than this’ which could indicate why Zambians are readily taking ownership of the World Cup. In contrast to Zambian respondents, only a small number of respondents from Cape Town place emphasis on the World Cup being an “African World Cup”. Even then, those comments allude more to South Africa’s overcoming of challenges and its reputation in the post-apartheid era, for example, one respondent recalls that: ‘it’s a reputation not just for South Africa, it’s for Africa that we are capable of hosting these events and seeing the development that has come about since 1994’.

### **5.2 Africa’s Achievement**

Most respondents attach a sense of pride to the fact that the World Cup would be hosted on the continent for the first time. Words such as ‘milestone’, ‘achievement’, ‘excitement’, and ‘proud’ indicate people’s support of South Africa acting as an ambassador for the rest of Africa. Director of the community-based organisation YOFOSO, which operates sport and life-skills programmes in Garden compound in Lusaka declares that ‘we have reached acceptance standards, able to host such a big event on the African continent. Irrespective of it being held in South Africa or

wherever, it is being held on African soil'. Echoing this view is the comment made by a programme coordinator at the non-governmental organisation Sport In Action: 'Africa should feel proud about this World Cup, it should be done in an African way, the success of South Africa will be a success of Africa in general'.

### **5.3 Continent Benefiting**

In the data from Zambia, most respondents envisage other African countries to benefit either through increased tourism or by World Cup teams coming to reside and train in neighbouring countries for the duration of the tournament. The FAZ representative claims that 'the tourism sector has gone flat out to tap into the tourism potential' and that there have been 'meetings here with several tourism operators and hoteliers, they are offering several tour packages so that before or after the World Cup games people can visit Vic Falls, the Zambezi, Okovongo in Botswana and all those sights'. Several respondents are optimistic that World Cup football teams would visit Zambia for example, 'teams will come here to acclimatise', and 'when team and high levels come, they will visit, for example, Grassroot Soccer and Grassroot Soccer will show them round, they won't just stick to the hotels [...] they will come into the communities and spend money'. The Director of the CBO Bauleni United Sports Academy (BUSA) is sceptical that teams will visit as 'there is no modern infrastructure, no stadiums to generate income'. This is endorsed by FAZ as 'from the FA's point of view, it has exposed our deficiencies in terms of sports infrastructure- lack of international stadiums' however the FAZ representative states that work has commenced on several of Zambia's stadiums. This is backed up by a couple of other respondents who point out that stadiums are being upgraded nationwide.

Other perceived benefits to the African continent derive from the rest of the world seeing the plight of the Africa, with several Zambian respondents being confident that once people the outside world witness conditions in Africa they will act in favour of Africa. YOFOSO Director believes that foreigners will be able to 'understand African customs and traditions', and 'the challenges [...], why we have certain types

of leadership on the continent, why certain things are done in certain ways'. Similarly, a programme manager at SCORE states that 'people will see the gap between the haves and the have nots [...] and see the social and political issues [...] the extent of need will be brought out via the media, what communities need for minimum levels of living. More support might come, or we might question methods being used by current implementing organisations, they might question what is happening with all the money [...] about where donor money that is coming into Africa is going'. Elsewhere, 'by the world coming to see where we sleep, where we live, where we worship, where we learn, they can give us a hand, I hope they'll be interested to learn more about our standards of football. There are certain traditions, dances and music and our food, maybe they'll start importing them'.

The Director of BUSA emphasised that 'I don't see the World Cup to be the perfect motivator of development, it can bring a certain percentage of economic development, but not 100%', which contrasts to the prevalent optimism in the Zambian findings.

In the data from South Africa, the founder of Amandla Ku Lutsha comments with scepticism that 'it is a huge task to please the whole continent with a 3 week event, sure there are people who are proud that Africa is hosting the World Cup, but how much it does is another question'. The only other respondents who comment on whether the whole African continent will benefit, again locate the benefits with South Africa playing a pivotal role, evident in: 'recently we had xenophobic attacks [...] I hope the 2010 will just make us, especially South Africans, because we seem to be the ones that are ignorant, or arrogant. You see that we are all human and mostly we are all black and I don't understand why we are discriminating against each other. I hope that this will bring us to be one big nation, instead of South Africans'.

The Chairman of the Khayelitsha Sports Council, Cape Town questions the 'grey areas' as to who will benefit on the African continent and states that 'it seems to be targeting those who are already well-off [...] it seems to be reachable only to those

who are already well-off, not much effort is being put in to reach to those who can't themselves reach out for benefits from the World Cup.

#### **5.4 Image of Africa**

The majority of Zambian respondents agree that Africa's image to the rest of the world will change as a result of the World Cup coming to South Africa. This is concurrent with official World Cup discourses which pledge an African revival. Response to the question about what the current, stereotypical image of Africa is include: 'backwardness [...] nothing but a game park', 'fighting, hunger, disasters, difficulty to imagine people to smile or interact in a civilised manner', 'wildlife, you see many wildlife', and 'Africans are thirsty, take them water, or, take them drugs, disease it ravaging Africans. People expect to get ~~shot~~, raped, shot at in South Africa'. One respondent acknowledges that people were expecting Africa to fail and comments 'to those critics who say Africa can't organise something, the World Cup will show to those people'. One divergent response however draws attention to doubts such as 'can we ever hold an event of this magnitude?' and cites 'the environment, war, never predict stability of governance of that nation, can we fly out of Africa' as explanations of these doubts. The majority of respondents in Zambia unreservedly speak about how 'we are more than AIDS, more than malaria, more than wars', and that 'the international news shows nothing positives happening but there are a lot of positive things happening. Positive things are not news worthy [...] what they don't show is where there's peace. Africa is moving, one day it will be a super-power, a collective super-power'.

The Director of EduSport, Lusaka, argues that the World Cup will change the image of the African continent as 'we are able to show to the worlds that Africa is not as bad as it has been portrayed. We have been given the opportunity for Africa to show our positive side [...] high level meetings, workshops, trainings, international conferences are taking place in Africa'.

The only two divergent voices within the Zambian data about the issue of Africa's image come from the Director of YOFOSO and Programme Manager at SCORE. The former cautions that 'if we look at it critically, South Africa cannot be considered to be a less developed country, there is not a big difference between South Africa and other countries in Europe that have hosted the World Cup, so it might not bring to the fore challenges faced by the majority of African countries'. Meanwhile the SCORE representative suggests that 'the media writes what sells, for Africa what sells is the negative images, they may still want negative images, if a positive image is projected, who would want World Vision, CARE, or Oxfam and so forth, they would want to protect their niche [...] the development industry generates a lot of income for people'.

The majority of respondents from Cape Town acknowledge that the image of Africa is 'tarnished' but are confident that South Africa is a 'leading country in [...] being the diplomats on behalf of the continent'. A small number of respondents refer to the success of the Confederations Cup tournament as an indicator of how the impending World Cup will proceed.

### **5.5 Existing community facilities**

All the respondents share their experiences of community sport structures within which they are involved or utilise. The predominant portrayal is that: community facilities that are owned by the government are too expensive for community sports organisations and clubs to use; local facilities are under-utilised or not maintained; there is widespread lack of necessary equipment to maintain grassroots sport activities; and that there are youths on the streets with very little to do recreationally. The Director of Cape Flats Soccer Development took me to one pitch his organisation uses:

'This is the pitch, the facilitator lives in that house over there... we bring out the poles there and there... they play bare-feet some with socks... they train after hours about 3 or 4... we

Lucy Caroline Mills  
Masters Thesis 2010  
Supervisor Dr. Jacques De Wet

don't even get help from department of sport and recreation where they have money to buy facilities and poles'.



*Football field by the side of a railway, utilised by Cape Flats Soccer Development, Delpt, September 2009*

Expensive and under-utilised facilities in Cape Town is referred to by one respondent:

'Spend a day with me and go around and look at facilities and white elephants...we have a facility we're using now in Mitchell's Plain, there's 20 fields, but believe me, only 4 of those fields are being used, so that means 16 of those fields are not being used, but you cant just go and use them you have to pay for them... now if you're a community that has no money why must you pay for government facility that is not being used, it doesn't make sense'.



*Football field utilised by Cape Flats Soccer Development, Cape Flats, September 2009*

### **5.6 Barriers to Participation**

The Chairman of the Khayelitsha Sports Council summarises the status of sports in one township in Cape Town: ‘grassroots football is very disorganised at present, I wouldn’t say dysfunctional, it is functioning but at a very low level... there are no strong structures in place for representing sport and directing sport to a level that can be efficient for the whole community and it is dysfunctional because [sport] is overshadowed by major challenges that people within the Khayelitsha community are facing, like housing, unemployment, and sport is seen to be a luxury. And, unfortunately even the delivery [of sport] by our City, our municipality, is not necessarily favouring the development of sport within the Khayelitsha community’.

The majority of respondents cite lack of funds as the number one barrier to sustaining grassroots football activities. One girls football coach in Cape Town states that ‘we are struggling, to tell you the truth, I am struggling... no financial support, soccer kit, balls, no financial support... I’m suffering to make the development team. I don’t



Lucy Caroline Mills  
Masters Thesis 2010  
Supervisor Dr. Jacques De Wet

want to leave the kids without doing anything after school hours, not leave them in the streets'. Another coach describes his difficulties in running monthly inter-community games: 'we're trying but its not easy to get them together because we don't have the capacity and the finances to get them all together... boys and girls teams... money for buses and taxis'.



*Girls football team, Khayelitsha, August 2009*

Another barrier to participation in grassroots football is the cost of government-owned facilities: 'for people without money, how they going to use it... from the government side I do understand that it has to be maintained, but there is funds, you have a development forum... so why should, this community go and pay 200rand for a government facility?'. And the other barrier which is referred to is the cost of registering players to SAFA: 'if a kid hasn't got money that means a lot of them can't be affiliated at the clubs because there's certain subscription fees and registration fees' which hinders youths from participating in structured leagues and gaining SAFA-related opportunities.

A common statement by respondents in both Lusaka and Cape Town is that there is not enough investment into grassroots football development. Rather, some respondents depict the wastefulness of using government resources for one-off events:

‘they’re getting 500,000rand and they will have events- Youth Day, Women’s Day, Sports Day, AIDS Day, eventful days, then they will have a big thing, say they will have Youth Day in Khayelitsha, and at the Youth Day they will spent 100,000rand, and women’s Day maybe in Delphit, they will spent another 100,000rand. You come to some other day they will spend it... at the end of that financial year, that ward council will say, that is how my 500,000 rand was spent, you then take it back to that council and you ask, what did that community gain from the 100,000rand? What impact did it make? That lovely soccer, tennis, netball whatever... for one day... but for 364 days, what happened?’.

### **5.7 Relationship Between Promoters of Grassroots Football and Governing Bodies**

In Lusaka and Cape Town, all representatives of organisations or clubs which promote grassroots football state that their activities are greatly affected by various international, national and regional governing bodies.

### **5.8 FIFA: SAFA/ FAZ**

In Zambia, there is one acknowledgement that FIFA is creating opportunities: ‘a month ago or so, FIFA was conducting a referee clinic, for Zambian referees to be part of the World Cup, in readiness of the World Cup’. However many NGOs and CBOs show despondency with FIFA, which is manifested as the Football Association Zambia (FAZ). According to the Director of EduSport, ‘FAZ are much more inclined to the elite, more focused on the national team, more focused on the premier league, more focused on league 1, 2, and 3’ and ‘FAZ focus on the national team and the national league, there is no rural programming’. The majority of NGOs and CBOs share the concern that FAZ does not support lower level, grassroots football structures. According to one respondent ‘the local constitution [of FAZ] does not allow academies and NGOs to affiliate with them, but when that academy produces players, they [FAZ] don’t recognise them’. Another respondent requests that FAZ

‘needs to support grassroots, give support to people on the ground’. EduSport’s Director states that ‘Edusport are key stakeholders, we are developing community sport, and their constitution doesn’t recognise us.

In Cape Town there is similar sentiment that the South African Football Association (SAFA) does not support football at grassroots level.

### **5.9 Government**

In Zambia, BUSA’s Director expresses that it is the government that is hindering football development at the grassroots. According to him: ‘government are sitting on the rights of the children and youths. BUSA is providing a service to a limited number of people. The only body that can reach out to a large number is the government’.

### **5.10 World Cup Legacy initiatives**

From the data I identified five main categories of institutions that involved in implementing grassroots football and development activities as a result of the World Cup coming to South Africa. They are:

- 1) FIFA Football For Hope “20 Centres for 2010” Campaign
- 2) South African government’s 2010 Unit
- 3) The GTZ Youth Development Through Football (YDF) Initiative
- 4) Sport for Development NGOs
- 5) Community-based organisations (CBOs)

### **5.11 FIFA Football For Hope Movement: “20 Centres for 2010”**

The FIFA Football For Hope “20 Centres for 2010” Programme Development Manager explains that ‘the idea came from a meeting between streetfootballworld and FIFA in 2007 I believe they convened a meeting with different experts in the world

Lucy Caroline Mills  
Masters Thesis 2010  
Supervisor Dr. Jacques De Wet

and brought up the 20 Centres for 2010 as the official campaign for the World Cup'. 20 Centres have been planned for the continent- 5 in South Africa and 15 across the rest of Africa. They are intended 'to really spread the projects so that the World Cup has a way of touching the whole continent and that the project is really bringing the benefit of football to the rest of the continent by these Centres for social development'.



*Football For Hope Centre under construction, September 2009*

With regards to who was involved in the planning stages of the Football For Hope Centre in Khayelitsha, discrepancies exist across responses. The FIFA Programme Development Manager describes how 'at the higher stages the Centre in Khayelitsha is owned by the Department ~~offer~~ Sport and Recreation, of the Cape Town City government, and the Khayelitsha Development Forum is one of the key stakeholders that requested the Centre in Khayelitsha, so they are our leading partner in all the developments for the Centre, and there are community sessions for planning due to be held at the end of September, to include other, more local bodies'. This suggests that

local bodies are only being consulted at a stage where most of the planning and building of the Centre has already been done.

One element of the planning phase was a Football For Hope Forum which took place during the Confederations Cup in June 2009. Participants from a wide range of sport and social development organisations were invited and encouraged to network with other organisations using football as a tool for social change. Particularly strong criticisms of that Forum are that there were no South Africans or Africans on the Football For Hope Movement panel. One Forum participant remarks: 'its like someone from outside coming from another foreign company coming to tell us how it should be done'. Furthermore, he describes how another Forum participant spoke out about how his organisation was doing sport for development on a daily basis, every year, not just:

'When there's an event [...] if something happens like a Confed cup now you want to have a workshop about football, but what happens the rest of the year? When we ask questions like, when is the next forum meeting, because there's got to be a follow up meeting, but now they're done, their next focus is Brazil, where the next World Cup is going to happen, they shift their focus, now they're going to do some development in Brazil [...] South Africa is now forgotten [...].

In Zambia, the majority of respondents were not aware of the FIFA Football For Hope "20 Centres for 2010" project. The Director of YOFOSO had heard of it, 'but I don't know the nitty gritty'. Only the Director of BUSA is fully aware of the programme and was invited to the opening of the Khayelitsha Centre in December 2009. He states that 'FIFA recently indicated that we will host one of the Centres here in Zambia. The Kalusha Foundation will be running it [...] the centre is more than just a resource centre for football, there will be schooling, health [...] bring the best out of our kids'. He then went on to comment that:

'For any programme, local ownership is required. I hope that the overall benefits of those centres outweigh the differences in getting them constructed. Any project done by FIFA must

Lucy Caroline Mills  
Masters Thesis 2010  
Supervisor Dr. Jacques De Wet

be locally owned so that FIFA's Corporate Social Responsibility programmes reach out to people [...] so there is harmony. We've got to move in the direction of locals having ownership and not abandon it'.



*Football For Hope Centre under construction, September 2009*

In Cape Town, there are misconceptions as to what the Centres will actually be once it is up and running. One respondent expresses that 'when they talk about the Football For Hope Centre, I thought it was going to be this centre where there would be a gym [...] where you can play soccer, or tennis, that the community can come and watch, for indoor netball or whatever, but when I saw the building, now I'm trying to think what is the Football For Hope Centre'.



*Football For Hope Centre under construction, September 2009*

The reactions of smaller NGOs and CBOs are that the Centre does not best serve the needs of the people in Khayelitsha, evident in several comments such as: 'if we had it our way we would've wanted that project to be a fully fledged sporting facility that would've served the needs of the Khayelitsha people'; 'it's a project that's already there that we are just embracing because it's already there'; and 'I don't think there has been consultation process, the Khayelitsha one, I don't know what criteria they used'.

There are several other critical opinions in Cape Town about the Football For Hope Centre, for example, one respondent declares that 'given the backlog in Khayelitsha of facilities, it is a drop in the ocean' and 'it is a project planned somewhere else and just implemented in Khayelitsha'.

Representatives from two relatively small NGOs, Amandla Ku Lutsha and Soccer4Hope, do foresee the programming host Grassroot Soccer to benefit the most



from the Football For Hope Centre in Khayelitsha, but they also admit that ‘there will always be small organisations complaining- everyone’s aunty in the back room will have something to say! All you can do is work through the structures that are there, for example the Khayelitsha Development Forum, what else can you do?’. Given that FIFA and Grassroot Soccer are working within existing formal structures, the founder of Amandla Ku Lutsha argues that ‘Football For Hope is integrated pretty well’.

A Grassroot Soccer Manager claims that their approach takes into consideration community needs and sustainability issues: ‘the business plan stipulates that every year in October Grassroot Soccer is responsible for running a Football For Hope Centre strategic planning workshop. So we’ll fund it, we’ll plan it, about 2 days, and we’ll invite community stakeholders to come and we’re going to set up three different advisory bodies, one for health, one for education, one for football, that local community members sit on... so right at the beginning somebody has to be held accountable for what happens at the centre’.



*Grassroot Soccer Slogan: Know the game. Build your team. Make your move.*

### **5.12 Government and 2010**

There are numerous pockets of World Cup legacy initiatives being instigated by the South African government’s Western Cape 2010 Unit. To name a few, they are coordinating a programme called “Stars in Their Eyes” whereby South African



coaches are sent to the Netherlands for coaching courses and the “Train a Trainer” programme, aimed at enhancing the capacity of coaches in the townships. Furthermore, the 2010 Unit is establishing 5 Public Viewing Areas that can cater for up to 10,000 people each, in 5 district towns in order to create a festival atmosphere during the tournament matches and to encourage people to visit other places. Local entrepreneurs, such as entertainers, are deemed to gain opportunities during the tournament. The 2010 Unit is also promoting street football across the province, through its inflatable football pitch concept. The Unit carries out youth football programmes using a mobile, inflatable pitch, and receives requests from schools, churches and other organisations working with children. The 2010 Unit representative states that ‘this is another positive thing they can do to get kids off the streets, so we working with them, at no cost to them, we just sent it through, they use it and it comes back to storage’.

### **5.13 Youth Development Through Football (YDF)**

The German Technical Cooperation (GTZ) started their own project called Youth Development Through Football (YDF) to assist government departments to achieve youth development through football. Their mandate is that they can only work with government so they aimed to work with the department of Sport and Recreation, which has a 2010 Unit responsible for legacy. In December 2008, the GTZ invited representatives from various sport for development structures from across the Western Cape to a 3 day “Kick-Start” workshop at the University of Cape Town. The aims were for participants to brainstorm strategies for the YDF initiative.

Those respondents who were involved in the Western Cape Kick-Start workshop in December 2008 recount their extensive involvement during the workshop, and that ‘it was a good networking opportunity and well-intended’ but no respondents have heard anything about the project since. A representative from Grassroot Soccer describes how he ‘spent hours and hours and hours and hours working on that project and like, to be honest, what happened there, it all got political, just how many people trying playing in this field, you know development studies’, so ‘I haven’t heard anything

since. I'm sure something's happening but maybe I just don't know about it'. Similarly, the Director of the Cape Flats Soccer Development comments that there were supposed to be follow-up meetings but these have not happened.

From the data, the only activities known to be happening through the YDF are a large 6 month funding for Soccer4Hope to strengthen its girls' programmes in Nyanga, Khayelitsha, Gugulethu, Phillipi, Crossroads, whereby around 650 girls are reached on a weekly basis, and a tender awarded to the University of Johannesburg to do the Monitoring and Evaluation of the YDF initiative. The Soccer4Hope representative does mention that there is funding available for YDF partners in the Western Cape, 'but GTZ doesn't want to be seen as a funder- they're more a capacity for bridging government and what's happening on the ground'.

#### **5.14 Sport for Development NGOs and 2010**

Data from Zambia points to a disjuncture between FAZ's claim that 'there is a whole range of activities tailored around the World Cup' and the scarce descriptions provided by sport for development NGOs as to what is happening in the field. A one-off event is mentioned- the FIFA 2010 Festival that is being hosted in South Africa during the World Cup with Zambian NGOs being involved. According to the Director of BUSA, the Festival is for 32 grassroots organisations from across the world. 4 organisations- BUSA, Breakthrough Academy, Kalim Sports Council and Kalusha Foundation- are representing Zambia. Another one-off event is being organised by EduSport. They are planning to host a girls' tournament called "World Series" with teams coming from USA, UK, Zimbabwe and Namibia and they aim to create a space whereby women can talk about issues affecting them and interact with local Zambian women. A further event in the run up to the World Cup is the Cup Of Heroes, initiated by SCORE. Community teams from South Africa, Lesotho, Namibia and Zambia will compete in a tournament in South Africa next year. According to SCORE's programme manager 'community teams in Zambia are calling themselves World Cup teams [...] a community team in Zambia is calling themselves Spain [...] they are researching about Spain [...] this is spreading fever into Zambia'.

Lucy Caroline Mills  
Masters Thesis 2010  
Supervisor Dr. Jacques De Wet

Additionally, SCORE has received mini-balls, which they will distribute among their communities, from Adidas who 'want to identify themselves with the World Cup in South Africa'. But as the Director of YOFOSO states, 'apart from some promotional activities [...] I haven't heard of anything [...] there is no promotion of football or development due to the World Cup in our compounds'. Although the Sport In Action representative agrees with this view, there is slightly more optimism as he declares 'football at the grassroots, it's not something that is happening [...] it is difficult, we don't have something concrete, but people are talking about it [...] and it will trickle down to the communities'. The above listed activities are the only ones referred to among all respondents when asked 'do you know of any extra football or development activities occurring in Zambia as a result of the World Cup coming to South Africa?'. However, a few organisations remain positive that 'partners will come on board in the run up to the World Cup'.



Sport for Development NGO Coaching For Hope delivering football and life-skills sessions, December 2009

NGOs are aware that the World Cup is largely an elite event with the majority of poor South Africans being most likely to miss out on the excitement and live matches when the tournament takes place. Therefore many NGOs are adopting the Public Viewing Area concept in various townships. Thembalitsha intends to have large screen viewings of the games in community spaces, with various other organisations offering entertainment and life-skills programmes. Similarly, Amandla Ku Lutsha are developing a holiday programme so that throughout the World Cup tournament youths can participate in tournaments and educational activities from 10am until 2pm and then go to view the game at a designated viewing area.

The founder of Amandla Ku Lutsha cautions that organisations should not over capitalise on funding specifically tied to the World Cup, as it can create a 'trap'. 'In trying to take advantage of the opportunities, organisations must be careful not to create something that will fall after the World Cup'. He speaks from his own experience of having been offered World Cup funding to expand programming to 4 other South African cities by 2011 'but I was not willing to do that, there was no guarantee of funding after the World Cup funding'.

#### **5.15 CBOs and 2010**

In Cape Town, most respondents from community-based organisations and football teams express how companies tend to give one-off investments rather than sponsor long-term sustainable football structures. The respondents record having received equipment donations by corporate companies. For example, 'Nike has been fantastic in that, they have given me balls, they given t-shirts, tracksuits for our coaches and so on, so those are things that we are really grateful for, the redistribution of that gear can go to communities where it's most needed'.

According to the Director of Cape Flats Soccer Development, many of the grassroots initiatives occurring as a result of the World Cup coming to South Africa are not addressing the long-term improvement of football. 'Since we got the bid, 2004, from 2004, when we won the bid, up until now, nothing! Nothing at grassroots level. And

sad to say this but a week ago, the ex-Bafana goalkeeper, Andrew Arendse, now with Supersport United, he was on the morning live show On The Couch with E TV and he has asked the same question that you ask me, is there any development on grassroots level within the communities and the answer is no, the answer is no, and someone must challenge, if they say there is, show us where it is. Where is it?



*Bauleni compound sports field, Lusaka, July 2009*

Responses from organisations which are managed and financed locally within townships in South Africa indicate that funding is negligible. This is evident in one response by the Chairman of the Khayelitsha Sports Council: ‘we can confirm [...] no funding is existing for Khayelitsha that we have seen. If it is, if there’s any funding it’s still sitting with authorities, most probably government or the City or whoever’.

One major concern from respondents from smaller CBOs is their inability to attract funding due to lack of proposal writing and other skills. One respondent states that organisations need ‘a professional marketer, people doing your finances, somebody

doing corporate governance your advocate, you have to be accredited, you have to have all these things in place before you can go to big companies like Samsung, Telcom, Vodacom and Sony and so on', so a small organisation lacking resources cannot email and produce what donors require.

#### **5.16 Mega-Events**

The business drive behind mega-events is widely acknowledged. The FIFA Football For Hope Programme Development Manager states that 'FIFA's main core business is to host a single competition, which is the World Cup. They have never claimed to provide any other service, in the past, and the bidding system for host countries to host the World Cup is a very competitive process [...] so the host countries are requesting to host a World Cup, rather than FIFA imposing on a country to host a World Cup. Similarly, the Director of Cape Flats Soccer Development comments that 'for them it's a business, it's a job description, to be an athlete it's a job [...] SAFA, it's run as a business [...] the cricket board, it's run as a business [...] they have corporate governances [...] if you want to excel in any sport, it's a business'. The elite and money-oriented nature of mega-events is further found in a comment made by the Provincial 2010 Unit representative: 'corporates will definitely come we've got requests for ships coming here to dock, we want to entertain the customers [...] for normal South Africans the likelihood of them going into the stadium is like one to zero, because most of them, way out of our league, not high earners and our soccer fans are normal people'.

One interesting comment came from the Chairman of the Khayelitsha Sports Council. He acknowledges the neoliberal motivations behind the World Cup but suggests that corporate businesses should look at their market, as 'it's actually the poor that are, in millions [...] the real customers that are putting them in those powerful positions'. He urges them to invest in developmental activities for poor populations, since they constitute the bulk of the future market.

#### **5.17 Stadium infrastructural development and “white elephants”**

There are a large number of references to previous mega-events that have taken place in other countries, for example: ‘a lot of the stadiums had to be broken down, they had to build either hotels or shopping malls because they were white elephants’.

A representative from the Western Cape Provincial 2010 Unit commented that ‘FIFA’s presence in terms of bringing the World Cup here, that’s positive, although we are incurring a whole load of debt- by upgrading stuff, but I’m hoping we can recoup that once the World Cup is over by investors that will come in’. But there is scepticism about South Africa recouping the economic investments after the World Cup: ‘look at stadium that being built down there in Green Point, to be realistic, what’s going to happen to it, they’re going to break it down, it’s not going to fill up’.

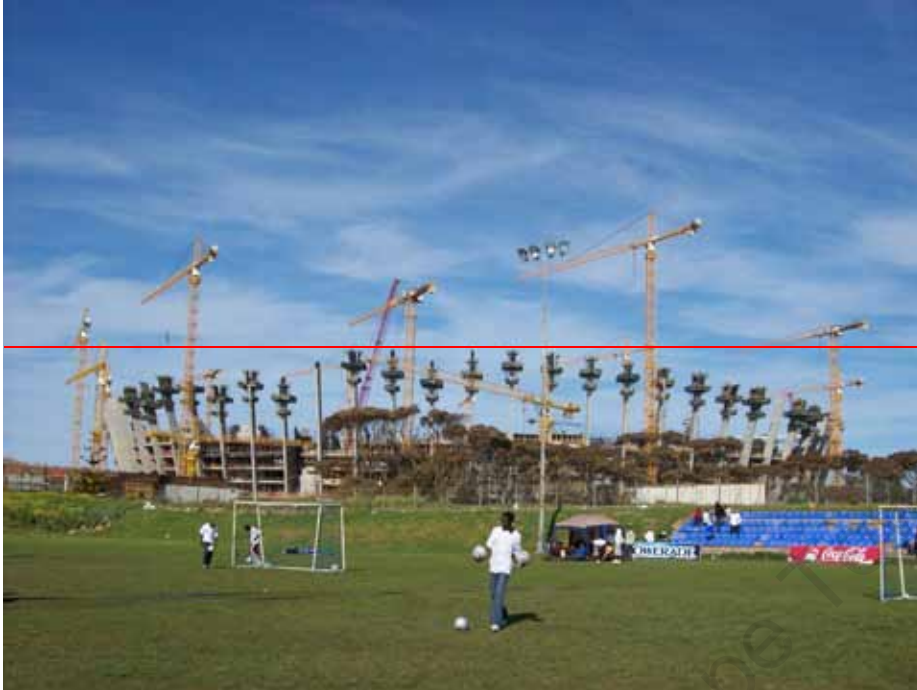
#### **5.18 Personal Connection to World Cup**

All of the Zambian respondents express that the World Cup is significant in their lives. They have either followed the tournament from a young age or emphasise the role that football plays in bringing people together.

#### **5.19 Opportunities**

This comment from one respondent summarises the general sentiment among all respondents: ‘after the World Cup I’ll get more experience’. In Lusaka, indistinct suggestions from one respondent includes ‘I could learn strategies- marketing events, develop leadership qualities’, without actually saying how this could occur.





*Green Point Stadium under construction, September 2008*

### **5.20 Involvement in Tournament**

Most of the Zambian respondents express vague suggestions of how they would like to be personally involved in the World Cup. The only concrete opportunities commented are that there are SCORE volunteers allocated to help at the World Cup tournament; BUSA's involvement in the 2010 Festival and the opportunity it presents to be a part of the World Cup atmosphere; and the YOFOSO Director talking about how it gives him an opportunity to engage with youth. He recalls that:

'Even if it is hosted elsewhere, on TV, to bring kids together, at my place, my team come to watch, analyse, compare our style, learn a lot from the TV, talk about the weaknesses of the team, strengths... While the kids are watching the World Cup, bad vices are rarely engaged in, they are glued to the tv, the thing they talk about becomes football. The bad vices are reduced, I have observed that in my own community'.



In Cape Town, representatives from small community-based organisations and teams express their dreams to obtain World Cup match tickets for themselves and the youths they work with. Meanwhile larger sport for development NGOs have a vast number of tickets secured to distribute among their programme recipients.

One coach from community girls football team Red Eagles exemplifies the sentiment among community coaches interviewed that they do not really know how to be involved in the tournament: 'I'd love to be apart of 2010... what can we do, cos we sitting here, we don't know, maybe there is lots of opportunities but we don't know. We don't know which step we must take so that we can maybe get involved'.

### **5.21 Personal or Organisational Benefits**

At the beginning of the interviews the majority of respondents were optimist that the World Cup will bring benefits to them. A community girls team coach in Cape Town declares: 'as a South African I've got hope that the World Cup is going to be successful, I'm not really really sure, but on my side, the World Cup is going to be successful, and the image will be successful... Everything is going to go very very well'. Later on in the interview, that same respondent admits: 'my team, I don't see how my team will benefit from the 2010 World Cup'. Deeper interrogation led the majority of respondents to acknowledge that they, or the sports teams or organisations they are working with, will not in fact benefit from the World Cup. The Director of the Khayelitsha Sports Council admits:

'We definitely are wishing that the Khayelitsha people will benefit from the World Cup, but wishing and making sure that people will benefit are two different things. At present, given the lack of information that people are having on the ground in Khayelitsha makes me doubt there will be any benefit for us. It seems that the best benefits are going to those who are already well-off and those with dire need... that benefit is very far from them'.

Similarly, other respondents allude to rich people benefiting from the World Cup, evident in: 'maybe the celebrities, the people in Johannesburg, they will benefit in the

2010 World Cup, but I don't see people in Khayelitsha benefiting from the 2010 World Cup'.

### **5.22 Communication**

There are several comments referring to the need for better communication channels so that people know about World Cup opportunities. All respondents from community-based sports organisations and teams mention that they are kept in the dark about 2010. For example, Director of the Cape Flats Soccer Development says that: 'for us it's about... how do we fit in this whole plan, how do we benefit from the World Cup? And we can't, nobody can tell us where we benefit'. Similarly, Red Eagles girls football coach remarks:

'We don't have that enough information about 2010, we just know that there's a World Cup coming here in our countries and our team, the South Africans will benefit, but even now I haven't seen anything... everything now, it's in websites, internet and stuff like that, but here in Khayelitsha, they are not educated so they don't know about websites you must go to... so I think the government must do something, or the media must do something to bring a column in Xhosa... the technology is changing and some of the people not going to access internet, that's why maybe there's a lack of information, because people don't have money to go to the internet cafes'.

### **5.23 Summary of Findings**

- i. All Zambian respondents identify the World Cup as being an "African World Cup". South African respondents depict the World Cup rather as a mark of national pride and the progress of South Africa since 1994. Despite subtle differences in the labelling and association with regards to what the World Cup stands for, all responses call upon political rhetoric of the African Renaissance movement and that which was at the heart of the government's hosting bid.
- ii. The World Cup is perceived to change the image of Africa positively.

- iii.   Zambian respondents point to visiting tourists and football teams as the predominant benefit to Zambia, and with that is the assumption that external visitors will learn more about the country and assist financially. Specific examples of tangible benefits are vague.
- iv.   Experiences of community sports at grassroots level- in disadvantaged areas- are bleak. There is a range of barriers mentioned such as: overpriced governmental facilities; facilities that are not maintained; lack of equipment and kit; lack of money for transportation to training sessions and games; other social issues such as housing and unemployment taking precedence over the provision of sport; wasteful “one-off” festivals rather than sustained community activities; and inadequate support and investment by the government and the Football Associations.
- v.    The FIFA Football For Hope Centre in Khayelitsha is being managed by an international NGO and other local and community-based organisations feel marginalised from planning and decision-making processes related to the Centre.
- vi.   In South Africa there are several activities planned by sport for development NGOs and the governmental 2010 Unit to increase the spectatorship of local fans during the World Cup, such as Public Viewing Areas. Smaller community-based organisations do not have access to information or the capacity to organise events during the tournament.
- vii.   Responses suggest that investment into sports structures is limited which indicates that there is little sign of improvements of grassroots sports.
- viii.   All respondents residing in townships in Lusaka and Cape Town admit that only the rich will benefit from the World Cup, and that they have not accessed opportunities or been involved thus far.
- ix.   There are two distinct, contrasting groups appearing in the data. One is the group of respondents from international or well-resourced or connected sport for development NGOs, and the other is the group of respondents from small-scale, “struggling” community-based teams or organisations. The former is gaining attention and access to World Cup opportunities; the latter is not.

## **CHAPTER SIX: DISCUSSION**

The Discussion chapter is divided according to the conceptual codes which directly correlate to the four sub-questions, which will then lead to answering the central research question within the conclusion. The four sub-questions are:

- 1) Is a Pan-African legacy evolving as a result of the World Cup?
- 2) What are the respondents' experiences of grassroots football in Southern Africa?
- 3) What developmental/ football activities are currently underway- and by whom- as a result of South Africa hosting the World Cup?
- 4) What are the perceptions of people in football positions such as coaches and administrators about how they may benefit from the World Cup and how do they feel they can contribute to its current and future impacts?

### **6.1 An African Renaissance: Rhetoric or Reality?**

*'it is not about South Africa hosting, it is Africa'*

Black's notion of 'symbolic politics' (pg. 261, 2007) is at the core of how the World Cup is commonly perceived to be an impending success. Effective marketing of the World Cup as an "African World Cup" by the South African government and FIFA has filtered into everyday discourses of the general public. Rhetoric of one's pride of the continent and repeated achievement of Africa in hosting one of the world's largest events has been at the heart of widespread societal support. The hosting bid was founded upon the principles of African Renaissance, and it is evident that this message has successfully reached the wider population. Three of the six pillars of the African Renaissance movement have certainly been meshed with general everyday discourses surrounding the World Cup, they are: affirmation and assertion of Africa's culture; pan-African solidarity; and the improvement of Africa's global standing.

Lucy Caroline Mills  
Masters Thesis 2010  
Supervisor Dr. Jacques De Wet

Although there is a strong argument that in Lusaka and Cape Town people are implicit in reframing dominant narratives about both South Africa and the African continent given that each voice is rooted in African identity politics, it is undeniable that such emotive marketing has enabled FIFA and the South African government to pursue World Cup planning with rather unquestionable backing of its citizens. The widespread belief is that “Africa” will benefit. It must be noted that none of the embraced African Renaissance ideals are linked directly to football. Furthermore, the dominant narratives regurgitated by the general public tend to be vague, grandiose statements, mirroring that of political rhetoric. Although if we look again at the objectives of the African Legacy Programme which was initiated in 2006, the first one: ‘to support the realisation of African Renaissance objectives’ does seem to be occurring merely in the sense that people are buying into the conviction that this is indeed Africa’s “time”. A football tournament is therefore acting as the trigger and symbol for broader optimism for the continent. This must be considered with caution however, in line with Black’s argument that as long as a ‘moral, noble and inspiring vision’ is imparted among the general public, then there will be continued ‘rallying of public support for what is an exorbitantly costly event’ (Black, 2007).



*Confederations Cup, June 2009*

From the data, the most significant manifestation of the African Legacy Programme, which is linked to people's confidence in their surroundings, relates to how the World Cup can contribute to improving Africa's global image. There is awareness of how Africa is consistently portrayed to the rest of the world, and belief that the World Cup will challenge these depictions and negative expectations that Africa is doomed to fail. Interrogation of how one multinational football tournament actually negates Afro-pessimism points to how it will enable outsiders to come into Africa and see world-class stadiums and infrastructure of a standard comparable to the West. There is a striking contradiction within the data. On one hand it is believed that the World Cup is an opportunity for Africa to show off its achievements to the rest of the world, and on the other, it is seen an opportunity for outsiders to be able to come in, see the "plight of Africa" and therefore act as a tool to harness more support for the continent. This is evident in responses such as 'more support might come'. This contradiction echoes Cornelissen's discourse analysis of the narratives surrounding South Africa's 2006 and 2010 World Cup hosting bids whereby the government 'built their campaign[s] on a certain rhetorical portrayal of Africa that both asserted and challenged the views of the continent that predominantly cast it as struggling, lost or backward' (Cornelissen, pg. 1306, 2004). Whilst African Renaissance rhetoric is employed, there is still a subtle, underlying assumption that Africa needs the North for its upliftment, an ideology which has been entrenched for centuries. It seems that the legacy of colonialism still occupies everyday discourses.

The working definition of "legacy" provides a good entry point for exploring what the actual tangible benefits are perceived to be within sport and development circles in Cape Town and Lusaka. A legacy is 'something of substance that will enhance the long-term well-being or lifestyle of destination residents in a very substantial manner preferably in a way that reflects the values of the local population' (NCDO, pg. 15, 2008). The tangible benefits that people believe will be accrued as a result of South Africa hosting the World Cup are predominantly linked to infrastructure and tourism—two of the often cited and associated outcomes of hosting mega-events. There are however considerably less specific examples of why certain infrastructure and tourism is beneficial to the individual. Among sports circles there is a curious attractiveness

towards, and emphasis on, large international stadiums. They are popular among various coaches and sports coordinators. Given that most of these individuals are working with grassroots-level sport, the fact that such stadiums are unlikely to be accessible is not problematised.

Although the majority of respondents from both Cape Town and Lusaka perpetuate the widespread official discourses, a handful of respondents critique the rhetoric and argue that it is building expectations among poor people which are unlikely to be fulfilled. A representative at the 2010 Unit in Cape Town states: 'that is part of the problem, how it is portrayed, that's why we are trying to curb it, there's this glamour where everyone will take something away but they're just going to leave us with a problem, because people will say, you promised me this, you promised that, you said I will be upgraded'. An example of this is identified in responses from a community football team coach who enthuses that 'as a South African, I've got hope that the World Cup is going to be successful [...] the World Cup is going to be successful [...] everything is going to go very very well'. In the following sentence however, she concedes that 'I don't see how my team will benefit from the 2010 World Cup'. There is a disjuncture between the excitement created by official discourses and media campaigns, and the real, tangible gains being experienced by people in the field. There was a similar pattern in comments made by another community coach in Khayelitsha: 'everyone is waiting for 2010 [...] those on top will get a lot [...] I don't think I'll get anything'. Black's argument that transforming South Africa's cities into world-class cities will widen the gulf between rich and poor; urban modern and rural tradition; and the 'core' South Africa and 'most of the rest of the continent' is being realised through the perceptions of people in marginalised areas (Black, pg. 272, 2007). In the South African context, a legacy is most needed for such underprivileged populations however it is evident that this is not materialising when the Chairman of the Khayelitsha Sports Council in Cape Town queries the 'grey areas' as to who will benefit, and states that 'it seems to be targeting those who are already well-off [...] it seems to be reachable only to those who are already well-off, not much effort is being put in to reach to those who can't themselves reach out for benefits from the World Cup'.

## **6.2.2) 'Dysfunctional' Duality?**

*'there are no strong structures in place for representing sport and directing sport to a level that can be efficient for the whole community'*

The overall picture of mass participation in football in Cape Town and Lusaka is bleak. It is characterised by deprivation, marginalisation and political hurdles. In the South African context the challenge now, given that in the post-apartheid era a number of sports facilities have been built, is for them to be fully utilised and maintained so that community members can use them without feeling a financial burden. Currently there are disused fields which have the potential to be utilised. There are many comments that what is needed most to enhance widespread participation in football is investment into these sites, since they are at locations whereby those people who need it the most live. Furthermore, poverty underpins difficulties in securing adequate transport and equipment to sustain community sport structures. There are an extensive number of community-based sports structures which are exemplary of the kind of organisations Hulme and Edwards consider to best reach the poor (1997). There are many factors which make community-based football teams a positive site for social development; coaches are usually from the area; they know the youths very well; are trusted by other community members; and have experience in working with sport despite difficult conditions. However lack of funds and resources, external support and sport management skills tend to hinder the activities of these organisations. Furthermore, in both Zambia and South Africa there are criticisms that the national Football Associations do not invest enough into structures which are promoting sport as a mass-participation level. Around Cape Town, government investment into grassroots football development is claimed to be misdirected as large quantities of money is spent on one-off events for annual days such as Youth Day, World AIDS Day and for Women's Day, rather than investing that money into more sustainable sport structures or leagues. Micro-level one-off events are comparable with that of the macro-level World Cup. Local responses refer to the inadequacy of one-off events in addressing sports development needs however



there is a curious lack of consideration of whether the World Cup is addressing such issues.

Sport has been cited as a powerful tool for development. Access to and participation in physical activity has been recognised as a fundamental human right. This has manifested in the growing number of sport for development NGOs which now operate within Southern Africa. These NGOs differ slightly from age-old community-based sports teams and organisations in several ways. I have categorised the two types of structures which administer sport:

1) *Community-based football team or organisation*- typically characterised by being funded internally; having little or no links with external bodies; locally-owned; and a relatively small number of programme participants (see figure 1 below). Examples of these organisations include: Cape Flats Soccer Development, Red Eagles Football Club, Khayelitsha Sports Council, and Youth For Sport Rehabilitation and Restoration (YOFOSO).

2) *Sport for Development NGO*- typically characterised by being funded by external donors, being either nationally or internationally- operated, and with a relatively large number of programme recipients (see figure 2 below). Examples of these organisations include: Soccer4Hope, Grassroot Soccer, SCORE and Amandla Ku Lutsha.



Fig 1. Sport for Development NGO session



Fig 2: Girls team in Khayelitsha

The World Cup, particularly being hosted in a third world country, has highlighted implications within the growing sport for development field. Sport for development NGOs, typically with donor funding, links to the North and expatriate workers are gaining more access to financial and other resources to sustain their activities and drive a powerful message through a society. This means however that programmes tend to be donor-driven, and it is questionable whether they are actually addressing local needs. Conversely, community-based organisations which are planned and carried out by local people and serving local needs are severely lacking in resources to maintain their activities, teams and leagues. The word 'struggle' is repeatedly used by community coaches when describing their training sessions and match days. Sport for development organisations are at risk of undermining the work of local sports structures by diverting funds and attention away from them. This is evident in the way that World Cup opportunities are available to NGOs rather than local sports structures. Responses suggest that governmental investment into local structures is lacking. There are existing facilities which are being under-utilised and poorly maintained, yet the massive influx of sport for development organisations are operationalising sport according to their own agendas rather than contributing to the local context. This is evident in hearing international NGO Grassroot Soccer aligning itself with a new FIFA Football For Hope Centre, or Soccer4Hope setting up new football programmes for a selected number of girls rather than identifying and supporting girls' teams in the area. In contrast to this there are community-based organisations such as Cape Flats Soccer Development which works with those children who are either not at school or cannot afford SAFA league entry fees and training sessions are on land within the vicinity of where many of their marginalised and vulnerable youths live. The football programmes operate at the heart of the community, considerably less superficial and "showy" than wealthy NGOs, but with very little recognition. In this sense, the Chairman of Khayelitsha Sports Council is warranted in saying that community sports is 'dysfunctional'. With the framing of the World Cup as something which will leave a lasting legacy in Africa, and it mainly being international NGOs which are the vehicles for this legacy, applying Fokwang's argument here, there is the risk of sport for development NGOs prompting a renewed approach to development assistance which continues to envisage third world countries as recipients of development (2009).

Lucy Caroline Mills  
Masters Thesis 2010  
Supervisor Dr. Jacques De Wet

In Cape Town, sport for development NGOs tend to carry out their programmes within schools. In South Africa, physical education does not occur in every school as the intention of the previous Sport and Recreation South Africa (SRSA) policy on mass participation pledged for. Under the new SRSA “Creating a Winning Nation” policy, the ideal scenario is that physical education is delivered within the life orientation curriculum. The Department of Education therefore supports the work of various sport for development NGOs, for example in projects such as training in delivering physical activity for teachers. It could be argued therefore that NGOs are effectively aiding, at best, national mass participation in sport, or at worst substituting the barely visible governmental sport delivery. Does it mean then that sport for development NGOs are considered to be the most effective vehicle to deliver national objectives in relation to sport? Should sport be administered by providers of service delivery in line with a capitalist framework?

We must be cautious that sport for development programmes which are initiated by external Northern-based organisations may be prone to failure as we have seen with previous development initiatives. Furthermore, should we be concerned that local voices are being marginalised and local initiatives struggling? After all, the inclusion of indigenous knowledges is now perceived to be the way forward in that they draw on the knowledge of a population to understand local conditions and environments as well as offering them accountability and control over the development process (Briggs and Sharp, 2004).

### **6.3.3 African Legacy Programme: Perceptions of Progress**

*'[when] they're done, their next focus is Brazil, where the next World Cup is going to happen, they shift their focus, now they're going to do some development in Brazil...*

*South Africa is now forgotten'*



*Khayelitsha playing fields, September 2009*

One of the Legacy Programme objectives is to: “support efforts aimed at strengthening and promoting the development and advancement of African football”. Having identified a dual functioning of community-based organisations and sport for development NGOs, the research respondents represent a range of both. It has become increasingly clear that responses differ according to which structure they represent, meaning that the structure seems to have differing experiences and involvement with the World Cup. More opportunities, awareness and tangible personal or organisational gains come from those respondents representing sport for development NGOs. In contrast to this, the respondents representing community--based organisations are enthusiastic about the World Cup coming to South Africa, but these exclamations are vague and perpetuate political rhetoric, and it seems that they do not actually have information on opportunities or see any visible positive impact on the structure they are involved in. Data from Zambia points to a disjuncture

between FAZ's claim that 'there is a whole range of activities tailored around the World Cup' and the scarce descriptions provided by representatives from community-based organisations as to what is happening in the field. Real tangible gains from the World Cup correspond to an organisation's extent of connectedness to global or wider processes, and the organisation's socio-economic status- in a sense of its financial wealth and quantitative reach within a community. This endorses Alegi's claim that dominant forces in the changing political economy of world sport, such as FIFA, influence and shape hegemonic interests and agendas within South Africa, and that global and institutional interests serve to undermine, rather than strengthen, grassroots sports in historically disadvantaged communities (Alegi, 2007). In other words, when there is interest from FIFA, and from donors and corporate companies wishing to align themselves with the World Cup, they turn to larger sport for development NGOs, therefore sidelining community-based initiatives. Two contrasting responses typify this divide between structures: the Director of community-based organisation YOFOSO based in Garden compound, Lusaka states that, 'apart from some promotional activities [...] I haven't heard of anything [...] there is no promotion of football or development due to the World Cup in our compounds'; and the Director of sport for development NGO Amandla Ku Lutsha argues that his organisation is involved in with World Cup activities and that 'Football For Hope is integrated pretty well'. Therefore it seems that only sport for development NGOs are capitalising on opportunities to strengthen their programmes.

The findings consolidate Horne and Manzenreiter's argument that World Cup legacy planning does not consider local interests and that 'mega-events have been largely developed by undemocratic organisations, often with anarchic decision-making and a lack of transparency, and more often in the interests of global flows rather than local communities' (Horne and Manzenreiter, pg. 18, 2006). The FIFA Football For Hope centre in Khayelitsha is a concrete example of this. It is worrying that, after decades of seemingly learning from past developmental blunders, the concept "20 Centres for 2010" replicates a top-down, externally-planned model of development. It is unfathomable that 20 generically designed centres in diverse countries and contexts across the continent will address the diverse needs adequately. This comes through in

the data: 'its like someone from outside coming from another foreign company coming to tell us how it should be done'. The data points to the FIFA World Cup legacy project being an extension of capitalist expansion in the global political economy. Integral to the project is infrastructural building. Levermore argues that this constitutes one of the facets of modernisation, and intrinsically supports neoliberalism by creating a stronger, stable social and economic environment (2009). The activities within the centres involve health, education and lifeskills, which again Levermore argues encourages employment initiatives necessary for the economy (2009). Broadening sports participation is not the focus of the centres which is a concern for many local residents, evident in: 'I thought it was going to be this centre where there would be a gym [...] where you can play soccer, or tennis, that the community can come and watch, for indoor netball or whatever, but when I saw the building, now I'm trying to think what is the Football For Hope Centre'. The marketing of the "20 Centres for 2010" concept has been extensive and now there is a situation whereby FIFA, and the local host organisation which intends to manage the centres once they are built, must contend with the expectations that people have of the centre.

Despite ambiguities regarding the conceptual and planning phases, the more positive aspect of the Football For Hope centres is that they are going to be managed by well-established, well-connected NGOs. Grassroot Soccer are working intensely to ensure the programme is sustainable and makes a positive impact on the surrounding communities as well as the organisation's objectives. Could this possibly be the most that could be asked for when a multinational corporation initiates a development programme?

World Cup legacy initiatives and activities within sports circles are largely short-term in nature, for example 6 month funding from the GTZ's project YDF, or a donation of footballs. Rarely any activities cited are linked to strengthening and promoting the development of sustainable sport. Much effort is however going into ensuring that large numbers of South Africans can watch the games and be involved in the

Lucy Caroline Mills  
Masters Thesis 2010  
Supervisor Dr. Jacques De Wet

excitement of the World Cup. It is a strategy that ensures wider support for the tournament and enables this capitalist enterprise to go ahead rather uncritically.

University Of Cape Town

#### **6.44) Social Legacy or Fallacy?**

*'Maybe there are lots of opportunities but we don't know. We don't know which step we must take so that we can maybe get involved'*

One of the Legacy Programme objectives is to ensure maximum and effective African participation at the 2010 FIFA World Cup, however there is the overall sentiment that the general public does not know how they can participate in the tournament. These findings challenge Roche's notion of "complex globalisation" whereby localities can connect with global circuits and globalisation involves the possibility for collective agency, response and influence by political and cultural collectives (2006). The data shows that people of a low socio-economic status living in disadvantaged areas have no input into how they envisage a legacy might most benefit them. This group of people represent a majority general public of South Africa and Zambia. Furthermore, there is little in the way of agency, response and influence in carving out opportunities to be involved in the actual tournament, for example by obtaining tickets, volunteering at games or interacting with visiting fans. This is evident in responses from community coaches in Khayelitsha. There is limited space to influence and interact with global forces; it tends only to be relatively wealthy or connected sport for development NGOs that are able to utilise it to their advantage. On a theoretical level, the World Cup highlights how globalisation leads to disconnectivity of already marginalised groups. It also highlights how the presence of poverty hinders the positive benefits of globalisation as it tends to be those most affluent or resourced who are able to absorb and influence global forces. One of the many community coaches who iterates that she is struggling, describes the situation in her township:

*'everything now, it's in websites, internet and stuff like that, but here in Khayelitsha, they are not educated so they don't know about websites you must go to... the technology is changing and some of the people not going to access internet, that's why maybe there's a lack of information, because people don't have money to go to the internet cafes'.*



There is a recurring pattern within the data that comes from representatives of community-based organisations. There are two semantic layers within. One is a broad, overarching excitement and support for the World Cup, and the other is a rather concealed admission that on an individual level, people will not positively be impacted. This pattern can be viewed through a critical lens of “glocalisation” wherein we see global and local power relations at play. A typical experience by community-based sports organisations is the belief that: ‘the World Cup is going to be successful, I’m not really really sure, but on my side, the World Cup is going to be successful, and the image will be successful... Everything is going to go very very well’. However, this is mostly proceeded with responses such as: ‘my team, I don’t see how my team will benefit from the 2010 World Cup’. This research shows that negotiating global processes at a local level are dependent on various factors. They are: access to information via the internet, word of mouth or through networking; understanding available information in the English language; connectedness to social and economic circles; effective communication; and possessing resources to translate known opportunities into action.

Sport for development NGOs are more readily equipped with these skills and assets than community-based organisations and individuals. This is because they are more likely to have ties with international donors and therefore have the capacity to receive extra funding in light of the World Cup being hosted in South Africa. This is the same old story we have seen time and time again with the development industry. Due to dependence on external donors, a category of organisations have emerged, which Mawdsley, Townsend, Porter and Oakley call the ‘acquiescent NGOs’ (Mawdsley et al, pg. 5, 2001). These organisations work predominantly towards the wishes of their ‘paymasters’ rather than ‘clients’ demand’ (Mawdsley et al, pg. 5, 2001). It is worrying that sport is now being swept up in this donor-driven system, since there is criticism that organisations are subordinating local knowledge and priorities in favour of Western political, economic and cultural meanings, acting as ‘transmission belts for foreign ideologies’ (Tembo, pg. 529, 2003). Furthermore, as has been shown with the Football For Hope Centre case-study, many legacy and sport for development projects constitute a “neo-liberal revisionist” position which encompass a top-down

promotion of participation while barely challenging power relations (Tembo, 2003). With this in mind it is little wonder then that local voices and individuals are finding it difficult to seize tangible World Cup opportunities.

The “legacy” component of a mega-event should not be overstated. They derive from a particular ideology, with corporatisation, commercialisation and capitalism overshadowing the actual playing of the sport. Therefore this type of football- a showcase elitist spectacle- is far removed from the kind of football experienced by the masses worldwide. That this event can engage with grassroots football (globalisation processes) to the extent that these structures reciprocally influence the World Cup (glocalisation processes) remains unlikely. Giulianotti and Robertson’s concept of “globalisation”- the capacity of global processes to manifest in multiple local contexts, certainly occurs through the framing of the World Cup as an “African World Cup” and emphasis on the unique nature of this mega-event. However their concept “glocalisation” is much harder to identify. There is little agency of people within community-based sport and development structures in Lusaka and Cape Town to negotiate and accrue opportunities from the World Cup. Local knowledge has rarely informed legacy initiatives led by FIFA and international NGOs. Given the popularity of football however, the widespread support of the tournament is unquestionable; therefore perhaps the social legacy components have been unnecessarily pledged given that all respondents enthuse about the World Cup but then remain adamant that on a personal level the only kind of benefit they feel is national pride in South Africa or the continent hosting an event of this magnitude. There are visible benefits expected which fall within the framework of macroeconomics and increasing South Africa’s competitiveness within the global market, such as foreign investment, infrastructure and increased visibility of the country as a viable tourist and investment destination. However, other promises of social and sports legacies occurring at the grassroots are merely building up false hopes. Benefits are almost certainly not reaching the poorer populations of society.

## **CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSIONS AND DIRECTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH**

### **7.1 Conclusions**

Formatted

The official World Cup discourses generated by FIFA and the South African government that pledge benefits continent-wide, and specifically for underprivileged populations, have successfully infiltrated everyday discourse of people in townships in Lusaka and Cape Town. There is however a discrepancy between this rhetoric and the reality. Further probing leads people to concede that individually and at an organisational level, they are being excluded from benefits and opportunities. This is due to a lack of access to information; and marginalisation that has come about by donors and opportunists clearly favouring wealthier, structured international sport for development NGOs such as Soccer4Hope and Grassroot Soccer. The small-scale community-based organisations such as the Cape Flats Soccer Development, YOFOSO and various youth football teams in Khayelitsha do not know of, or have not experienced upliftment due to the World Cup. Despite an obvious lack of tangible gains or involvement, a sense of pride in South Africa, and indeed Africa, is evident. It seems that this alone is driving the support and success of the World Cup rather than any visibility of positive change in disadvantaged communities. Due to the unprecedented support, mega-event is going along unchecked. It is becoming increasingly clear that globalised sport is reproducing similar problems caused by globalisation at large. This thesis substantiates existing literature which doubts the potential of the World Cup to promote development among poorer populations. Alegi argues that the World Cup will leave in tact the inherited inequalities that have stunted the development of football, and benefits will disproportionately go to rich clubs and a small number of elite stakeholders, such as entrepreneurs, managers and politicians who 'can rely on black fans' insatiable appetite for football to accumulate profits' (Alegi, pg. 14, 2000). That it is only respondents from larger or international organisations who anticipate benefits reinforces the suggestion that it will be those already in positions of power and wealth as well as visiting tourists, or as Alegi labels them, "the haves" (Alegi, 2000). A legacy for those who most need it is not being materialised.

One important outcome of this research into the World Cup is that it has exposed a dual system of sports delivery that is present in both South Africa and Zambia. There has been a rise and increasing popularity by international donors of sport for development NGOs, and they are being prioritised with funding being channelled through these organisations. Meanwhile, community sports structures continue to struggle to the point of being near dysfunctional or even non-existent. Given the history of criticism regarding donor-driven, Northern-based development programmes, should we be cautious that the international aid system is co-opting sport and receiving large amounts of funds to deliver its programmes in the developing world? I regard this as a topic which requires further research.

Given the rhetoric behind the hosting of the World Cup, it will be important to carry out evaluative studies on a larger scale after the tournament in order to gauge its real impact.

## **7.2 Suggestion for Further Research**

### *Gendered Implications of Mega-Events and Sport for Development*

One implication which has not been the focus of this thesis but which problematises using sport as a tool for development, and at a macro-level- using football for a tool for a vast number of legacies and nation-building, is the masculine nature of sport, football and indeed capitalism. Many respondents are female but it was beyond the scope of this thesis to interrogate their positioning within the sport and development sphere, particularly in relation to the World Cup. The characteristics associated with sport are those associated with masculinity, and these have been neutralised to the extent that we think it is natural for men to have certain roles and characteristics, and for women to also have a certain gendered role. As long as sport continues to perpetuate that notion, women will always be seen as second-class citizens. This has implications for using sport as a tool for development. Women's experiences as

athletes may be overlooked, and we are at risk of creating doomed development projects if the differing experiences between women and men are ignored. Should we use a male-dominated domain to address developmental issues? Surely this will not contribute to real development as it lacks the understanding of full power relations within society.

Similarly, when analysing a mega-event, which undoubtedly represents processes of globalisation and capitalism, there is an omission from globalisation of sport debates of the interactions of global processes and sporting women specifically. The predominance of male sport as one of the largest and fastest-growing components of the world economy has not been problematised. Since the majority of existing scholarship on the globalisation of sport is applicable only to what is happening within male sport, it perpetuates the perception that sport belongs to, and embodies, men. Although the impacts of globalisation processes upon women have been examined across a range of disciplines, the impacts upon sporting women has yet to be considered. Given that the World Cup is a men's World Cup that is used for nation-building and a tool for a number of deemed successes, we can consider women's sport as having struggled to capitalise on processes of globalisation in order to raise its status; rather the extent of marginalisation of women from participating and thriving in sport has been sharpened when compared to the rapidly increased opportunities and wealth in men's sport across the world. Hence, further research on a gendered reassessment of the globalisation of sport phenomenon is needed.

## **APPENDIX: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE**

### **Sub- Question 1)**

#### **Is a Pan-African lasting legacy evolving as a result of the World Cup?**

- The World Cup being held in South Africa in 2010 is being promoted as the African World Cup, with the promise of it creating a lasting legacy for Africa. What have you heard about this legacy?
- Do you perceive other African countries, and Zambia in particular, to benefit long-term from South Africa hosting the World Cup? If so, in what ways?
- What do you think the current image of Africa is to the rest of the world and what do you think the image will be during and after the World Cup? Will the international image of Africa change?
- How important is it that World Cup has been framed an African World Cup?
- What issues do you think the World Cup being hosted in South Africa is raising? What social issues will be highlighted/ exposed?

### **Sub- Question 2)**

#### **What are respondents' experiences of football at the grassroots in Southern Africa?**

- Explain what the organisation or football structure you are involved in does.
- What facilities do you use?
  - What is your opinion or experience of existing sports facilities in Cape Town?
- Where do you get your equipment, resources and funding?
- What is the relationship between your organisation and the government, SAFA and FIFA?

- Do you feel that you get sufficient support or the support you expect from national/international bodies?
- Do you think that FIFA is doing enough for football at the grassroots in South Africa?
  - What more could be done?
- What are the barriers to participating in football at grassroots level?
  - How do you think 2010 will, or is, addressing these challenges?

**Sub-Question 3)**

**What developmental/ football activities are currently underway- and by whom- as a result of South Africa hosting the World Cup?**

- Have you experienced, or do you know of any extra sports/ development activities that are happening at the grassroots as a result of the World Cup coming to Africa?
- What resources have been made available to you, or to your area, in relation to 2010?
- Has there been an increase of funding as a result of South Africa hosting the World Cup?
  - What funding do you have access to?
- Has there been an increase of facilities built in connection with 2010?
  - Do you have access to those facilities?
- Have you got access to more equipment as a result of South Africa hosting the World Cup?
- Have you heard of, or are you part of the Youth Development Through Football (YDF) initiative?
  - Is it realising its objectives that were formalised at the Kick Start Conference last year? If so, how?

- What activities have you seen that have been instigated by the YDF?
- As a participant of the Kick Start conference last year, have you continued your involvement with the YDF initiative?
- Have you heard about the FIFA Football For Hope “20 Centres for 2010” project?
  - What is your understanding of this project? Do you think you will benefit from it?
  - Have you heard about the Centres being built in Khayelitsha? Who was involved in planning of this Centre?
  - How will the centre operate once it is up and running?
  - Who are the local stakeholders?
  - Who is deemed to benefit?
- Have you heard about legacy projects, for example, the National Lottery Distribution Trust Fund and Dreamfields?
- Is girls’/women’s football being promoted within the legacy project of the World Cup?

**Sub- Question 4)**

**What are the perceptions of people in football positions such as coaches and administrators about how they may benefit from the World Cup and how do they feel they can contribute to its current and future impacts?**

- What does the World Cup mean to you?
  - On a personal level, and for the organisation you’re involved with
- How do you think you or people around you will be affected by the World Cup?
- Do you think you will get more access to resources in the run up to the World Cup? And after that?



- What opportunities do you have to get involved in the World Cup?
  - coaching, refereeing, volunteering, business opportunities and so on
- Do you know how to get 2010 match tickets or have you got tickets?
- What negative outcomes do you already see or anticipate happening as a result of 2010?

University Of Cape Town